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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE SOURCES OF THE *FATES OF THE APOSTLES* AND *ANDREAS*

Professor G. P. Krapp in his edition, the most recent and complete, of the *Fates of the Apostles* of Cynewulf, in reviewing the work of his predecessors¹ in tracing its sources, comes to the conclusion:

It seems extremely probable . . . that the author of the *Fates of the Apostles* had before him, not, presumably, Bede's *Martyrologium*, but the list or lists which Bede used in the preparation of his *Martyrologium*. The items of these lists were probably arranged not as they are in Bede, according to the calendar, but somewhat as they are presented in the poem and the *Breviarium*.²

We can, in the light of recent investigations upon medieval martyrologies, be quite assured that the author did not have before him Bede's work, because the genuine text would not have helped him much, as it does not mention the places of the apostles' deaths except in the case of Philip: "KL. MAI. Hieremiae Prophetæ. Et in Heropoli, Philippi apostoli," and of Thomas: "V NON. IUL. translatio Thomæ apostoli in Edesa, passus vero in India."³ The only list which Bede, could, and did, use in these instances was

¹ G. Sarrazin, "Die Fata Apostolorum und der Dichter Kynewulf," *Anglia*, XII (1889) 379-382; J. J. Bouraueil, "Zur Quellen- und Verfasserfrage von Andreas, Crist und Fata." (*Bonner Beitr. zur Anglistik*, XI) 1901, 101-7.

² *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles*. Boston, 1906, xxxii.

³ H. Quentin, *Les Martyrologies historiques du Moyen Age*, 1908, 50, 52, 585, citing from Sangallensis 451. The later family of manuscripts has also "VIII KL. Sep. In India, natale sancti Bartholomei apostoli" (*Ib.* 54).

the *Notitia de locis SS. Apostolorum*,^{3a} which is found regularly before the *Martyrologium* of the Pseudo-Jerome⁴ for the reason stated by the compiler:

Sane in prima parte libelli omnium apostolorum festa conscripsimus, ut dies varii non videantur dividere, quos una dignitas apostolica in caelesti gloria fecit esse sublimes.⁵

In this list in which the names are arranged: 1. Peter; 2. Paul; 3. Andrew; 4. Jacob; 5. John; 6. Thomas; 7. Jacob; 8. Philip; 9. Bartholomew; 10. Matthew; 11. Simon Cannanei and 12 Simon Zelotes, Bede found the entries:

XII kl. ian. Nat. s. Tome apostoli in India et translatio corporis eius in Edesa, and kl. mai. Nat. s. Philippi apostoli in civitate Hieropoli provincia Assie,⁶ for which he was indebted to his own meagre notices of the same saints, nor could he find more detailed information in the body of the *Martyrologium*,⁷ to which he refers elsewhere,⁸ and to which he was largely indebted in his own work. The *Notitia de locis SS. Apostolorum*, true to its title, only notes

^{3a} H. Quentin, s. v. Bède, *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét. et de la Liturgie*, II, 1 (1910), 640.

⁴ *Martyrologium hieronymianum*, ed. G. B. de Rossi et L. Duchesne, in *Acta Sanct. Nov. II* (1894) [lxxv]; T. Schermann, *Propheten- und Apostellegenden nebst Jüngerkatalogen des Dorotheus und verwandter Teate* (T. u. U., Ser. 3, vol. I, Part 3) 1907, 170, 225 ff.

⁵ *Ib.*, [lxxxii].

⁶ *Ib.*, [lxxvii]; according to the reading of *Cod. Epternacensis*, written in England in the first years of the eighth century: *ib.*, [viii]. H. M. Banister, "Liturgical Fragments: A. S. Sacramentaries," *Journ. Theol. St.*, IX (1908) 401. The entry of the *Notitia*: "V kl. novemb. Nat. Apos(torum) Simonis Cannanei et Simonis Zelotis qui a templorum pontificibus occisi sunt in Zuanis civitate Persarum," Bede rejected (Quentin, *op. cit.*, 55), probably because he found the same statement in apocryphal gospels: "Hos referunt historiae, in quibus apostolorum passionibus continentur, et a plurimis deputantur apocryphae, praedicasse in Perside, ibique a templorum pontificibus in civitate Suanir (*sic*) occisos, gloriosum subiisse martyrium. Quibus astipulatur et liber Martyrologii qui beati Hieronymi nomine ac praefatione attitulatur" (*Liber retract. in Actus Apostolorum*, cap. I, *Patr. Lat.*, xcii, 997). Later revisers of Bede added this detail from his tractate; cf. Quentin, *op. cit.*, 55, n. 7, 601, 631.

⁷ Cf. De Rossi et Duchesne, *op. cit.*, lxxv.

⁸ For reference cf. above n. 6, and for use Quentin, *Les Martyrol.*, 56 ff., 109-111, 117; *Dict. d'Arch. Chr.*, II, 1, 636-41.

the missions, and not the manner of death of the apostles, has a different order for their names from the English poem, is only a separate grouping of the dates of their feasts, made for practical purposes; so many proofs that it would not have been the source of the English work. The passages cited by Professor Krapp and his predecessors as from the *Martyrologium* of Bede, are taken from an enlarged text of the *Martyrologium* of Usuardus, whose work, written about 875, is an abridgment of Ado's developed text of the *Martyrologium* of Florus of Lyons, itself an expansion of Bede's original work.⁹

Having shown what was not the source of the English poem, the next step is to point out, if not a single text, at least where one can find in various texts, coming from one source, the elements of the account of the fates of the apostles, given by the English writer. The clue to such an investigation is the order in which the apostles are named. The order found in the *Notitia* is—with the exception of substituting Thaddeus for Simon Zelotes, due to the list given in Matthew x, 2-4¹⁰—the same as is found in early occidental liturgical texts, belonging to the Gelasian and Gregorian usages, found in Gaul, Ireland, England, and Milan.¹¹ But another order is found in a liturgical text, one of a series which presents certain non-Roman Western rites. The Irish *Stowe Missal*, compiled at the end of the ninth, and the beginning of the tenth century,¹² in accepting the Roman canon of the Mass, has the Roman order of the apostles in the diptychs of the dead in the prayer "Communicantes."¹³ But in the middle of a later clause "Memento etiam," which is found only in manuscripts which preserve in part the

⁹ Published at Bale before 1500, reproduced in Cologne edition of Bede, 1612, and thence *Patr. Lat.* xciv, 799 ff., the latter place being the source of Krapp and his predecessors. Cf. Quentin, 4, 468, n., *Dict. d'Arch. Chr.*, II, 1, 636. J. B. Du Sollier pointed out the relationship of these versions in the preface to his edition of the *Martyrologium* of Usuardus (1714) *Patr. Lat.* cxxiii, 536-7; cf. Quentin, 403-5.

¹⁰ Schermann, *op. cit.*, 201, 218.

¹¹ Schermann, *op. cit.*, 218-19, 229.

¹² On the date, which has been sometimes put as early as the first years of seventh century cf. A. Wilmart, s. v. Bobbio, *Missel de, Dict. d'Archéolog. chrét. et de la Doctrine*, II, 1 (1909) 952.

¹³ F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, 1881, 236; B. MacCarthy, "On the Stowe Missal," *Trans. of the Irish Royal Academy*, xxvii (1877-86, No. 6, 1886) 212.

canon of the Gallican liturgy,¹⁴ the Bobbio,¹⁵ the *Missale Francorum*¹⁶ and Ms. Vatican. Ottonbon. 313¹⁷—although at a later date this clause passed into the Roman canon¹⁸—we find the names of some one hundred and twenty personages of the Old Testament, and of the first Christian centuries, including St. Martin, Gregory the Great, the first three successors of St. Augustine of Canterbury, Lawrence, Mellitus and Justus,¹⁹ and forty Irish saints and in this list the apostles are found in the order: 1. Peter; 2. Paul; 3. Andrew; 4. James; 5. John; 6. Philip; 7. Bartholomew; 8. Thomas; 9. Matthew; 10. James; 11. Simon and 12. Thaddeus, followed by Matthias, Mark, Luke and Stephen.²⁰ This same order which is based on Matthew x, 2-4, is found in an incomplete form in a litany in the same work:²¹ 1. Peter; 2. Paul; 3. Andrew; 4. James; 5. Bartholomew; 6. Thomas; 7. Matthew; 8. James; 9. Thaddeus, and Matthias, Mark and Luke, and in a complete form with the same additions in a litany,²² which is found on a separate leaf in Irish script of the ninth or tenth century in a St. Gall manuscript, and with the variant: 11. Thaddeus; 12. Simon, as in Matthew, x, 4, in a hymn, attributed to St. Cummain the Tall (d. 662), since the

¹⁴ E. Bishop, "On the Early Texts of the Roman Canon," *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, iv (1903) 571-6; F. Cabrol, s. v. Canon, *Dict. d'Arch. Chr.*, II, 2 (1910) 1865-8.

¹⁵ Now Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. l., 13, 246; *Patr. Lat.* LXXII, 454-5; *Facsimile of the Bobbio Missal* (Henry Bradshaw Soc.), 1917, Fol. 15. E. Bishop, p. 578, n., notes variants of Bobbio, Ott., Stowe, Miss. Fr., and the Rheinau Ms. Zürich 30.

¹⁶ Ms. Vat. regin. 257; *Patr. Lat.*, LXXII, 339.

¹⁷ Cf. Bishop, *op. cit.*, 557, 569-70; *The Gregorian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson (Henry Bradshaw Soc.), 1915, 3, where the editor cites as variants Rheinau Ms., Ott., and Cambrai, 167. Cf. *ib.*, 142.

¹⁸ Cf. H. Jenner, s. v. *Celtic Liturgy*, *Catholic Encycl.* III (1908) 500b, and E. Gougaud, s. v. *Celtique liturgie*, *Dict. d'Arch. chr.*, II, 2, 2971, for an analysis of the *Stowe Missal*, and its place in the history of the canon of the ritual.

¹⁹ Mellitus and Justus are mentioned as men "venerandae memoriae" in the *Vita S. Gregorii antiquissima*, ed. Gasquet, 1904, 45, a work of the first quarter of the eighth century, Bishop, "The Litany of Saints in the Stowe Missal," *J. Th. St.* VII (1906) 130; H. Moretus, "Les deux anciennes Vies de S. Grégoire le Grand," *Anal. Boll.*, xxvi (1907) 72.

²⁰ Warren, *op. cit.*, 239-40; MacCarthy, *op. cit.*, 216.

²¹ Warren, *op. cit.*, 226; MacCarthy, *op. cit.*, 192; cf. Bishop, *ib.*, 130.

²² Ms. 1395; Warren, *op. cit.*, 179-180.

ninth century,²³ which leaves no doubt of its place of origin by the addition of Patrick between Luke and Stephen.²⁴ It is found also in a number of prayers and litanies in the *Libelli precum*, collections made for the benefit of individuals or communities in Northumbrian or Mercian monasteries, or based upon such collections. Such are the *Book of Cerne*, written in Mercia in the first half of the ninth century, written perhaps during the episcopate of Aethelwold, bishop of Lichfield, 818-830, if this manuscript may not be considered as a copy of an earlier compilation, made under the direction of Aethelwold, bishop of Lindisfarne, 721-740,²⁵ and a manuscript in the British Museum, Reg. 2. A. XX,²⁶ written in the eighth century,²⁷ which no doubt came from Lindisfarne, as it contains a prayer²⁸ written by Higbald, bishop of that see (d. 803), the constant correspondent of Alcuin,²⁹ and a poem by a certain Cvð,³⁰ who has been conjectured³¹ to be either St. Cuthbert, bishop of the same see, 685-7, or Cudradus, a presbyter of the famous monastery, to whom Alcuin wrote in 793, congratulating him on his escaping alive from the ravages of the Northmen, who almost destroyed Lindisfarne in that year.³² Then there are the *Officia per ferias*³³ of Alcuin (d. 804), and the *Libellus precum* found

²³ *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ed. Bernard and Atkinson (Henry Bradshaw Soc.) 1898, II, 108.

²⁴ *Ib.*, I, 18-20.

²⁵ *The Prayer Book of Aedelwald the Bishop Commonly called the Book of Cerne*, 1902, ed. A. B. Kuypers, xi-xiv. If the collection is attributed without question to the bishop of Lichfield by Cabrol; "Le Book of Cerne et les lit. celtiques," *Rev. d. Quest hist.*, LXXVI (1904) 210, *Dict. d'Arch. chr.*, II, 2, 3308; E. Bishop still has his doubts; "Spanish Symptoms," *J. Th. St.* VIII (1907) 286-7.

²⁶ *Ib.*, 201-225.

²⁷ Kuypers, *op. cit.*, xii.

²⁸ Fol. 17a-b; *ib.*, 207-8. It is given without author in *Book of Cerne*, 133-4.

²⁹ *M. G. H. Epistolarum*, IV (1895) ed. E. Duemmler, 10-11.

³⁰ Fol. 40a; *op. cit.*, 218.

³¹ Warren, *Antiphonary of Bangor* (Henry Bradshaw Soc.) II, 1895, 90.

³² *M. G. H. Epist.* IV, 59-60. On this attack cf. J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, *Vikingetogene mod Vest i det 9de Aarhundrede* (Normannerne, II) 1878, 9-11; C. F. Keary, *The Vikings in Western Christendom, A. D. 789 to 888*, 127-9. On the date cf. L. Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen*, 1888, 38-40.

³³ *Patr. Lat.*, CI, 510-612. F. Cabrol recognizes it as Alcuin's work; *s. v.* Alcuin, *Dict. d'Arch. chr.*, I, 1, 1181-4.

in a tenth century manuscript,³⁴ formerly in the monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire,³⁵ and a *Libellus precum* of which extracts were printed from a Fulda manuscript in 1555, by Georg Witzel.³⁶ In one prayer,³⁷ Matthias and Barnabas are added to the original list, while another prayer,³⁸ with the variant 11. Thaddeus; 12. Simon, only adds Matthias, as is the case with a prayer attributed to St. Augustine,³⁹ which also places Thomas after, instead of before, James. One litany⁴⁰ adds to the original number Matthias, Barnabas, Luke and Stephen, while in another,⁴¹ Luke is followed by Patrick and Secundinus, and twenty-three other Irish names "nostri temporibus ignotissima." In a prayer,⁴² which may be considered as falsely attributed to Gregory the Great,⁴³ for more than one reason, the list contains more than variant readings; it is a contamination of the Irish with another list, that of the *Notitia de locis apostolorum*, in which James the brother of Jesus, has the fourth place, instead of James son of Zebedee, so that as a result we have the list 4. John, 5. 6. 7. tres Jacobi, as well as the variant: 12. Thaddeus, 13. Simon, and the additions of Barnabas, Matthias, Mark, Luke and Stephen. The usual order is found with the additions of Matthias, Mark, Luke and Barnabas in the litany of saints in the sacramentary of the Benedictine monastery of Wynchcombe, written at the end of the tenth century, once at Fleury-sur-Loire,⁴⁴

³⁴ Ch. Cuissard, *Cat. Gén. des mss. des Bibl. publ., Départements*, XII (1889) 86.

³⁵ First published by D. Martène, *De antiqua Ecclesiae disciplina*, 1706, 619 ff., reprinted in *Patr. Lat.*, CI, 1383-1415. A number of Irish saints are cited in a litany, in which the list of apostles is given in the Roman order, 1393-4.

³⁶ *Exercitamenta syncerae pietatis . . . per G. Vuicelium seniore, Bâle*, P, P ij, P iij, cited by E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.*, VII, 130; cf. Bishop, *Book of Cerne*, 235-6.

³⁷ *Book of Cerne*, 81; Ms. Reg. 2. A. XX, Fol. 18b., *ib.*, 208.

³⁸ Ms. Reg. 2. A. XX, Fol. 41a., *ib.*, 218.

³⁹ *Patr. Lat.*, CI, 1393.

⁴⁰ Reg. 2. A. XX., Fol. 26a.; *Book of Cerne*, 211-12.

⁴¹ Bishop, *J. Th. St.*, VII, 130.

⁴² *Patr. Lat.*, CI, 590.

⁴³ It is attributed to him in five prayer books, although something very similar, and in parts verbally the same is found among the spurious *Meditationes* of St. Augustine (*P. L.* XL, 938). Cf. *Book of Cerne*, xxxii-iii, 232.

⁴⁴ L. Delisle, "Mémoires sur d'anciens sacramentaires," *Mém. de l'Institut. de France* XXXII, 1 (1886) 367.

which had such close relations in that century with the English diocese, in which Wynchcombe was located, through the family of prominent churchmen, of which St. Oswald was the best known.⁴⁵

It is not surprising to find these lists in litanies of Anglo-Irish origin, if one accepts the theory of one of the most learned and acute of liturgical scholars, Mr. Edward Bishop, that the litany of the saints is an English development, for which the frame-work was furnished by a litany derived from the Byzantine rite. Such a frame-work is found in a Greek version in the well-known Athelstan Psalter, a manuscript of the ninth century, of which one finds a Latin version in another tenth century Cottonian manuscript. According to Bishop, this litany came to England in the last decade of the seventh century through the agency of Pope Sergius, who was of Greek parentage.⁴⁶ As for the order of the names, differing as it does, from the other orders of names found in Western liturgical, and other texts, from the Mozarabic, which is based upon the lists in Acts i, 13, and Luke vi, 14-16⁴⁷ and the Roman, which is not based on any Biblical list,⁴⁸ it agrees with the order in the diptychs of the Greek liturgy of "St. James," of which the oldest manuscript (Vaticanus 2282) is of the eighth century. Based, as this is, upon the Syriac translation of Matthew x, 4, it gives Simon the epithet Cananaeus, and substitutes Judas Jacobi—as is done in Luke vi, 16 and Acts i, 13—for Thaddeus as the twelfth apostle. Further, five of the manuscripts agree in adding Matthias, Mark and Luke, who in one manuscript are preceded by Thaddeus and Barnabas.⁴⁹ The addition of the epithet Cananaeus to Simon's names, and the substitution of Judas Jacobi for Thaddeus are found in a Litany in Ms. Reg. 2. A XX.,⁵⁰ with

⁴⁵ *Ib.*, 215-17; E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, 1892, I, 274, 277; II, 319, 345-7; *Chron. abb. Ramesiensis*, ed. W. B. Macray, 1886, xxvii-iii, xxviii-iii, xxxiii, n., xci, 15, 23-5, 29, 42, 160, 359. The "liber versificus" a book of prayers, partly in verse partly in prose, compiled by Oswald, the nephew of St. Oswald, while he was a monk at Fleury, according to John Leland, of which the great antiquarian had only seen two copies, one at Glastonbury and one at Ramsey (*Commentarii de script. Britanniae*, ed. A. Hall, 1707, 172) is still to be found, and identified.

⁴⁶ *Art. cit.*, *J. T. St.*, VII, 125-131; cf. A. E. Brightman, *J. T. St.*, XVIII (1916) 309.

⁴⁷ Cf. E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.*, VII, 135; Schermann, *op. cit.*, 221.

⁴⁸ Bishop, 136; Schermann, 220.

⁴⁹ Bishop, 136; Schermann, 207-10.

⁵⁰ Fol. 47a; *ed. cit.*, 222. It omits James Alpheï.

the additions of Mark, Luke, and Stephen, and in the spurious work of Isidore,⁵¹ *De ortu et obitu patrum*,⁵² where the additions are Matthias and Simon Zelotes, while in a prayer in the *Collectaneum*⁵³ attributed to Bede but probably of Irish origin,⁵⁴ which cites from the Pseudo-Isidore, by omitting Matthew, ends with 10. Simon Zelotes, 11. Judas. In a "Ymnum de apostolis sanctis domini nostri iesu christi" in the *Book of Cerne*⁵⁵ the list ends 10. Simon; 11. Matthias; 12. Judas; the last interpreted by the composer of the hymn as Judas Iscariot, although on this point he is in agreement with other Syriac lists, which there will be occasion to discuss.

There is plenty of other evidence which shows an affinity and in all probability a case of indebtedness between Syro-Greek and Anglo-Irish literary tradition.⁵⁶ Such is the list of the seventy disciples, so often forming a continuation of the list of the apostles—which are found in Latin manuscripts of the ninth and tenth century, similar to those in the Oriental lists,⁵⁷ the vision of hell vouchsafed to the apostles in the Syriac *Transitus Mariae*,⁵⁸ for

⁵¹ L. Duchesne, "Saint Jacques en Galice," *Annales du Midi*, XII (1900) 151, 155-7. There was evidently a common source for this Latin work, and the Coptic work of which the only surviving fragments have been published by E. O. Winstedt, "Some Coptic Apocryphal Legends," *Journ. of Th. St.* IX (1908) 372-86, in which the order of the apostles as well as the Jewish patriarchs is similar.

⁵² *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXIII, 147 ff.; cc. 68-80.

⁵³ *Patr. Lat.*, XCIV, 559.

⁵⁴ S. Hellman, *Sedulius Scottus (Quellen und Unters. z. Latein. Philol. des Mittelalters, I)* 1906, 99.

⁵⁵ *Ed. cit.*, 170-1.

⁵⁶ Cf. Bishop, "Spanish Symptoms," *J. Th. St.*, VIII, 293, n. 1; "Liturgical Comments and Memoranda," *ib.*, X (1909), 409. M. R. James, "Syriac Apocrypha in Ireland," *ib.*, XI (1910), 291.

⁵⁷ M. R. James, "An English List of the Seventy Disciples," *J. Th. St.*, XI, 459-62.

⁵⁸ This episode is not found in the French versions of the *Transitus Mariae*, as far as they have been published. Cf. *Roman de Fanuel*, ed. C. Chabaneau, *Rev. d. Langues rom.*, XXVIII (1885) 250-8; P. Meyer, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXIII, 366-7; Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 470, in the English or German: cf. Haenisch, *Inquiry into the Sources of the Cursor Mundi*, E. E. T. Publ. 1893, 42; G. Piper, *Die geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters*, I (1888) 277, 280-3; R. Heym, *Zeitsch. f. deutsch. Altertum*, LII (1910) 1-56. As for the connection between the *Saltair na Rann* and Oriental work *Vita Adae et Evae* suggested by James, the use in the Irish work of

which there is a parallel in the Irish *Fís Adamnáin*, and in Syriac versions of the heretical commentary of the psalms of Theodore of Mopsuestia we find a parallel preservation and development of the original Greek text, such as we find it in the Latin versions of Irish origin.⁵⁹

Can there be any doubt that the source of the Old-English poem was a version of the mission, manners, and places of the deaths of the apostles, of Anglo-Irish origin, when we find its order of names: 1. Peter; 2. Paul; 3. Andrew; 4. John; 5. James; 6. Philip; 7. Bartholomew; 8. Thomas; 9. Matthew; 10. James; 11. Simon, and 12. Thaddeus? The interchange of the places of John and James in that source is easily explained when we find it in the prayer attributed to St. Gregory, whose popularity is attested by its appearance in so many prayer books of Anglo-Irish origin, and in the *Collectaneum*,⁶⁰ and the same order is found in the *Book of the Bee*, of the Nestorian Solomon of Basrah (1222), a Syrian text of a late date, which, however, presents an early form of the list of the apostles,⁶¹ as well as some information, for which the only analogue is to be found in Middle-Irish texts, which I shall have occasion to discuss. The existence of this peculiar order of names in Latin ecclesiastical literature of Irish origin suggests that Irish clerics were acquainted with summarized accounts of 'the apostles' lives, which contained details found in the English poem, and in the *Breviarium apostolorum ex nomine vel locis, ubi praedicaverunt, orti vel obiti, sunt*,⁶² which is found in eighth and ninth century

a text combining the *Vita* with the *Apocalypsis Mosis* such as is not found in any known manuscript, has been noted by R. Thurneysen, *Rev. celt.*, VI (1883) 104. Cf. Louise Dudley, *The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, VIII) 1911, 143-4. In another study upon representations of the crucifixion, I shall point out some new evidence on the connection between Syrian and Celtic art.

⁵⁹ R. L. Ramsay, "Theodore of Mopsuestia and St. Columban on the Psalms," *Zeitschr. f. celt. Philol.*, VIII (1912) 438-451, cf. 436.

⁶⁰ *Patr. Lat.*, XCIV, 559-60.

⁶¹ A. W. E. Budge, *The Book of the Bee*, 1886, 103, Schermann, 213.

⁶² For manuscripts and editions, Schermann, 169-170, to which are to be added Ms. Bernensis 289, ed. W. F. Arndt, *Acta Sanct.*, Oct. XIII (1883) ii-iii, Ms. Trevirensis 1245, ed. *Analecta Bollandiana*, II (1883) 9-10, and Ms. Coll. Trinitatis Dublinensis, A. 4. 20, ed. H. Delahaye, *Ib.*, XXXIII (1913) 380-1. It is not found in the Codex Epternaecensis, which is of Anglo-Irish origin, nor does it, indeed, belong there, as unlike the *Notitia*,

manuscripts. The order of the names in this work: 1. Peter; 2. Paul; 3. Andrew; 4. James son of Zebedee; 5. John; 6. Thomas; 7. Philip; 8. James the brother of Christ; 9. Bartholomew; 10. Matthew; 11. Simon Zelotes or Cananaeus; 12. Judas, brother of James; 13. Matthias, a list based on Luke vi, 14-16, discredits it as the source. One does find plenty of evidence of such an acquaintance in the Middle-Irish literature.

Irish clerics showed their interest in the apostles in various ways. It pleased their national vanity to set up their own saints as rivals and equals of the founders of the Christian church. The most formidable of these deadly parallel lists is found in the *Book of Leinster*, compiled towards the end of the twelfth century,⁶³ in which are brought forward⁶⁴ among the thirty-six members of the losing side, along with Job, the great hermits, popes and doctors of the church, the apostles in the order of interest to us, followed by Matthias, and the Virgin Mary, to whom St. Bridgit serves as a foil.⁶⁵ The list of the apostles given in the account of Christ and

in its original form, it had nothing to do with the feasts of the apostles, as noted in the *Martyrologium*, although in some redactions of it the dates of the feasts have been added. Cf. Rossi et Duchesne, *op. cit.* [lxxxv].

⁶³ *Fac-simile of the Book of Leinster*, ed. R. Atkinson, 1880, 7. The list found in Ms. Brussels, Bibl. roy., 5100-4, Fol. 206ab, written in, or about 1630, and printed in *Liber Hymnorum*, ed. J. H. Todd, 1855, 69-70, is probably transcribed from the *Book of Leinster*; cf. W. Stokes, *The Martyrology of Gorman* (Henry Bradshaw Soc. ix), 1895, vi, xvii. Only the "xii. apostoli Hibernie" are found in the parallel lists given in the *Martyrology of Oengus*, and in Ms. Dublin, Trinity College, 23, N. 10, cited above n. 64. On source of latter manuscript cf. R. Thurneysen, "Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern," *Abhandl. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Kl.*, xiv, Nro. 2 (1912), 25-30, 32.

⁶⁴ *Ib.*, 370. The order of the apostles in the poetical version given in the *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, *ed. cit.*, I, 151; II, 110, 222, the *Felire Oengusso*, ed. W. Stokes (Henry Bradshaw Soc. xxix) 1905, 168, and in Ms. Dublin, Trinity College, 23, N. 10; K. Meyer, *Zeitschr. f. celt. Philol.*, vii, 299, is a confusion of several lists, as is the list in the invocation of saints in the poem *Imchlád Aingel*; T. P. O'Nolan, *Miscellany presented to K. Meyer*, 1912, 256, cf. 253. Cf. Schermann, *op. cit.*, 228-9.

⁶⁵ In the hymn of Brocan St. Bridgit is called "the mother of my Heavenly king," and in the hymn of Bithmaith, "the mother of Jesus": *I. B. H.*, 39-40, 107, while in a later Irish poem she is called "the sister of the Heavenly King"; K. Meyer, "Miscellanea Hibernica," *University of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, II (1916) 595; cf. J. H. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, 64-70.

his work in the *Saltair na Rann*, a work of the latter part of the tenth century,⁶⁶ is identical with that given by the *Stowe Missal*, with the omission of Stephen.⁶⁷

(To be continued.)

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WAS SECCHI'S *GL'INGANNI* PERFORMED BEFORE PHILIP OF SPAIN?

The notice appearing on apparently all editions of Niccolò Secchi's comedy *Gl'inganni*: "Recitata in Milano l'anno 1547 dinanzi alla Maestà del Re Filippo," has been copied in good faith in every history of Italian literature, Quadrio only excepted.¹ In the eighteenth century Argelati had already noticed that this play, if produced in 1547, could hardly have been for the first time performed in honor of the Spanish prince who was to become Philip II, since Philip visited Milan only in 1549.² Whether following Argelati or not, Stiefel has more recently made the same remark,³ and on the added strength of internal evidence concluded that this claim for Secchi's comedy was probably a hoax.

Now it is true that from the description by Calvete de Estrella,⁴ interesting as it is, only the vaguest idea may be derived as to the contents of the two plays performed. The chronicler's attention was wholly centered on the novelties in the way of stage scenery, and these had little or no connection with the plays since they were shown before and after the comedy and between the acts.

⁶⁶ R. Thurneysen "Saltair na Rann," *Revue celtique*, VI (1883) 98-9.

⁶⁷ *Ed.* W. Stokes, 1883, p. 111, vv. 7585-92.

¹ Tiraboschi, VII, 147; Quadrio, v, 84. Of the play I have seen the editions of Florence, I Giunti, 1562, and Venice, Andrea Rauenoldo, 1566.

² Really 1548-49. "In prima . . . junctarum editione anni 1562 sphalma cubat; ibi enim notatur annus 1547 cum Philippus II, tunc adhuc Hispaniarum princeps, anno tantum 1549 Mediolanum venerit." *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium*, Mediol., 1745, II, col. 2159.

³ Lope de Rueda und das italienische Lustspiel, in *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XV, 319, n. 2.

⁴ *El Felicissimo viaje d'el muy alto y muy Poderoso Principe Don Philippe Hijo d'el Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Maximo . . .*, Anvers, Martin Nucius, M.D.LII.

Besides, Calvete remarked: "la sustancia y argumento . . . déxo dedezir aqui por estar impresas." It is also true, as Stiefel has been the first to observe, that in III, 9,⁵ Alessandro reads the scandalous contract of sale which figures in the play as follows: "In Christi nomine amen. Millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo." The other objections presented by Stiefel do not appear as convincing, being "spöttische Bemerkungen über Fürsten (I, 8) und Spanier (II, 5)." These remarks, on examination prove to be hackneyed jokes or traditional oratory, which seem hardly likely to have shocked a sixteenth-century audience. Yet, for all that, the date 1547 on the printed editions is hard to explain away, since Philip entered Milan only on December 19, 1548, to stay until January 7, 1549.⁶

To all uncertainty as to the authorship of the first play performed in those festivities a hitherto neglected testimony now puts an end. Nobody less than the mathematician Cardanus, in the celebrated treatise *De subtilitate*, dedicated to the Prince Gonzaga, who organized the festivities in honor of Philip of Spain, speaking as from experience, described the Milanese entertainments as follows:

Illinc scenarum ornamenta magnifica, tonitrua, pluuiæ, nives, constant hae cotti pappis alternantibus folliis. Hinc Soles, astra Lunaque ementito coelo, quæ Nicolaus Siccus uir tum optimus tum splendidissimus, omnique scientiarum nobiliorumque artium genere eruditissimus, repræsentauit in ea comedia quam te iubente coram Philippo Hispaniarum principe Caesarisque nostri filio composuit, edidit, ornauit. Quis non miretur ibi Solem syderaque in sereno colluentia, latentia atris nubibus, hebetata candidis, motum cum sydere ac cum tempore repræsentationis fabulae congruentem? ibi sapphiros, chrysolitos, uerasque pyropos, lumina uitreis abscondita, dodecaedris icosaedrisque natiuo uitri colore mentiebantur. Defuerunt adamantes smaragdique, ut fingendo finxisse non uideretur. Edidit scena tonitrua, quid iam plus potest Iupiter, aut Neptunus ipse? cum etiam naues uelut in mare ferri ac fluctuare uideres?⁷

⁵ Stiefel writes II, 9, because he used the 1562 edition, which has an error in the page title at that place.

⁶ Cf. *La Triumphale entrata del Serenissimo Principe di Spagna nell'inclita città di Milano, al XIX di decembre MDXLVIIIJ*. In Milano . . . 1548.

⁷ Hieronymi Cardani Medici Mediolanensis *De Subtilitate Libri XXI* . . . Norimbergæ apud Ioh. Petreium, iam primo impressum. . . Anno M. D. L. p. 228. In the copy I have seen the colophon repeats the date of the title-page, but below it, is printed a medallion with a hand holding a

During these festivities Cardanus, whose great journey to Scotland did not begin until March, 1552, must have been living at Milan, where since 1534 he occupied the chair of mathematics. Even if precision of names and circumstances were missing, it would be clear to any reader of Calvete's relation that here the same festivities are referred to, and that hardly any but an eyewitness could have described them so faithfully.

But, after all, this establishes only the authorship of the play and not its identity; that a comedy of Secchi was produced is certain, but it is not certain that it was *Gl'inganni*. In fact, besides the objections given above, we find that the scene of *Gl'inganni* is laid in Naples, whereas the elaborate scenery described by Calvete and Cardanus refers to Venice. The library of the Escorial has certain manuscripts and pamphlets relating to Philip's sojourn in Milan,⁸ but these contain no specific information on the identity of the plays performed.⁹ It happened, however, that among the retainers of the prince also went a certain Vicente Alvarez, "Sumiller de la paneteria del Principe," and this sublimated baker, "con ribetes de historiador," began the journey by diligently noting all that might interest posterity. On arriving in Genoa he heard that "el maestro Estrella" had forestalled him, and so gave up his plan. Three years later, in February, 1551, at Augsburg, Alvarez, finding Calvete too slow in publishing, decided not to wait until the news was altogether stale, and to print, if not his fragmentary notes, at least the letters which he had written in

flaming sword and underneath the words: "M. Iodocus Nasz. Anno MDLXIII." The X looks as if it were printed, but the III have been added in ink. However, it matters little since the first edition of the treatise is known to be Norimb., 1550, fol.

⁸ Cf. P. Miguélez, *Catálogo de los códices españoles de la Biblioteca del Escorial. I. Relaciones históricas*, Madrid, 1917. See Ms. II, v. 4, fols. 347-352.

⁹ The brief *relación* on fol. 347 says about the comedies: "El domingo que fué a los XXX se hizo una comedia en el pal.^o de las ecelentes que se aya visto y oydo decir ansi por el aparato como de muy lindas invenciones, de la qual su Ala y toda su corte quedó tan satisfecha quanto pudo ser"; and further: "A los VI hicieron juego de cañas . . . despues á la noche se hizo otra comedia no menos linda que la primera y duró hasta las siete de la noche de que se holgó mucho su al.^a y toda su corte." I am obliged for this information to the kindness of the Rev. Guillermo Antolín, director of the Library of the Escorial.

1548 to Doña María of Aragón. Hence a curious relation, in which we have the good fortune to find, together with a description of the scenery, a detailed summary of the first play:

El Domingo siguiente se hizo en palacio vna comedia de muy buenas inuenciones y ricos adereços. Y fue desta manera. En vna sala apartada que entonces no seruia, sino para aquel efecto estaua hecho vn tablado lleno de bancos atrauesados, donde se sentaron todas las señoras, y damas y mugeres de ciudadanos, y algunos caualleros y otros hombres de la tierra, y criados de su Alteza, y las paredes a la redonda llenas hasta arriba de hombres puestos en vnos escalones que para ello auian hecho. La tercia parte de la sala estaua atajada con vn lienzo pintado, y detras la ciudad de Venecia hecha al propio, en la qual auia muchas casas y torres señaladamente conocidas, y la yglesia mayor de s. Marcos, con su plaça delante, donde se represento la comedia, y por todas las ventanas y almenas della, estauan encendidas velas que parecian muy bien, y por lo alto vn cielo con sus nuues y estrellas muy al natural, y la Luna andando por su curso, y en la yglesia vn relox que daua sus horas, y defuera del cielo en lo alto de la sala estaua vna puerta que no se veyá, sino quando se abria, y lo mismo estaua en aquel derecho en el suelo della, por donde baxaron y subieron algunas de las inuenciones y figuras que entraron en la comedia. Entrado su Alteza se sento en vn estrado alto que para ello estaua hecho, luego se derroco el lienço, y supitamente (*sic*) parescio la ciudad con sus luminarias como tengo dicho y començose la comedia en Italiano, y los que la entendian dixeron que eran muy buenos representantes, y assi me lo parescio en la gracia de sus meneos. Trataron de diuersas cosas prosiguiendo siempre vna que puede seruir de conseja, y por esso determine de escreuilla, aun que sea prolixidad: el cuento della segun me dixeron era que vn mercader Pandolfo que deuia de ser tan codicioso como rico estando su muger preñada, apostó que auia de parir hijo, y pario hija, y la apuesta era de tanta cantidad que el por no perdella, estauo (*sic*) preuenido, de manera que hizo entender que era hijo [I, 1] y ansi la crio en habito de hombre, hasta que la sensualidad la hizo dessear, y descubrir su natural. Acontescio que vn gentil hombre [Fabio] se enamoro de vna hermana suya [Virginia]: la qual tenia su coraçon y voluntad puesta en otro que tam bien la seruia [Flaminio], y la que andaua en habitos de hombre, determino de remediar al desfavorecido, y aprouecharse del desechado, y metiole de noche en casa y dandole a entender que era la que el buscaua lo engaño, de manera que do preñada del vinose a saber como el entraua de noche en aquella casa, y pensando que era con la otra hermana la reprehendian y castigauan por ello: la qual como estuuiesse innocente queria se matar con sus manos, y pensando quel galan adrede la deshonorraua, lo embio a llamar secretamente y con muchas lagrimas y lastimeras palabras le rogaua que no la deshonrrasse: delo qual el espantado no sabia que dezia que pensaua ser ella la que de noche le abria, y entrambos quedaron atonitos [IV, 6] sin se hazer vno a otro; a la platica se hallaron vn criado del, y vna criada

della que passaron muchos donaires ella llorando y riñendo, y el muerto de risa diziendo mil disparates por que le parecia que las dos se querian encubrir del. La otra hermana estaua desesperada de uer se preñada, y por ella disfamada la que no tenia culpa sin podello remediar ni osar manifestar su pena: y aunque no lo dezia, es cosa de creer que lo que mas le penaua era uer que le auian quitado el aparejo que solia tener para uer se de noche con el galan, y forçada del desseo, determino derromper el uelo dela uerguença y descubrirse a vn factor de su padre [Tebaldo], el qual tuuo manera descubriendo la uerdad al que auia sido la causa principal de todo el daño, el qual como padre y culpado lo remedio, dando orden como la preñada se caso con el engañado, y la otra con el otro que queria bien, que muy raras vezes acontesce faltar remedio a semejantes hierros. Duro la comedia siete horas, y a su alteza le parecio tan bien que la oyo sin enfadarse.¹⁰

From this summary may be drawn a variety of conclusions. First, that the play performed before Philip was not *Gl'Inganni*. Secondly, that it was another play of Secchi's, entitled *L'Interesse*.¹¹ In brackets we have inserted some names and indications of places corresponding to *L'Interesse*, enough probably to make another summary of the play superfluous. It is undoubtedly the same comedy. The action is situated at Venice, as appears from internal evidence.¹² There are certain differences between

¹⁰ Relacion del camino y buen viaje que hizo el Principe de Espana Don Phelipe nuestro senior, ano del nascimiento de nuestro Saluador, y Redemptor IESV CHRISTO de 1548 anos: que passo de Espana en Italia, y fue por Alemania hasta Flandres donde su padre el Emperador y Rey don Carlos nuestro senior estaua en la villa de Bruselas. Con [vignette] priuilegio 1551. [Madrid, Bib. Nac., from Salvá.] Cf. Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones de solemnidades y fiestas de España*, I, n. 132, Madrid, 1903.

About the second comedy Alvarez reported: "Aquel mismo dia [i. e., aquel dia de los Reyes] vuo en palacio otra comedia en la misma sala, donde se hizo la otra, y la ciudad que estaua hecha al propio de Venecia, mudaron al de Pisa, y todos la alabaron, y su Alteza la estuuu oyendo desde primera noche hasta las de las diez: y parecio le bien que no se suele contentar de todas cosas."

¹¹ *L'INTERESSE COMEDIA DEL SIG. NICOLÒ SECCHI. Nuouamente posta in luce. CON PRIVILEGIO. (Vignette.) IN VENETIA, . . . Appresso Fabio, & Agostino Zoppini Fratelli. MDLXXXVII. First edition Venezia, Francesco Ziletti, 1581. Also 1628.*

¹² The Piazza di San Marco is frequently mentioned, in I, 4; IV, 6, etc. In the latter passage Zucca asks Pandolfo if he knows Flaminio's friend Achille, "che stà su'l campo delle Gatte, & il Testa seruo di Messer Flaminio." Pandolfo answers: "Conosci tu la forca, che si fa tra le due colonne di San Marco, & il Boia che ti farrà campeggiarvi sopra?"

the printed play and the summary as given by Alvarez. Thus, Virginia in the play does not show such despair as to attempt suicide, nor does she send for Fabio. Instead of having Lelio (the supposed boy) untie the knot by discovering the truth to her father's confidant, Tebaldo, the latter is informed from the first by the father himself, and has a more active part. Of course, some allowance may be made for the fact that Alvarez gives the summary at second hand; but even so, it seems likely that the play, as performed, was somewhat different from its present printed form. If the acting version were found, it would probably show two or three additional scenes, and we venture to suggest it would be entitled *Gl'Inganni*. Indeed, this title fits the comedy much better than its present one, *L'Interesse*, which can be based only on an unimportant passage in I, 2.¹³ The mistake can be quite naturally explained. The first edition of *L'Interesse* was published in 1581, that is, quite a few years after the author's death. For, although the exact date of Secchi's death is unknown, it appears probable that he died some years after Philip's visit to Milan, perhaps about 1560.¹⁴ It seems then reasonably certain that none of Secchi's plays was published in his lifetime,¹⁵ and it is quite natural to suppose that a favorite of Granvelle, himself with a red hat almost within his reach, would not have been much troubled about such trifles. None of the plays shows any evidence of having been published by the author. In the case of *Gl'Inganni*, if performed before the Prince, there would no doubt have been something more than the gratuitous note on the title-page; there would have been a festive prologue, a dedication, some reference at least to the notable event. But, fortunately, with regard to *L'Interesse* the matter is quite clear. In the dedication, dated Venice, April

¹³ Tebaldo fears that if he reveals the truth the cheated one will not only claim his money back, but also Tebaldo's stake and the accrued interest: "non vorrà egli l'interesse di tanti anni scorsi?"

¹⁴ Argelati, *l. c.*, says only that from Milan "Romam Pontifice vocante contendit, qua in Urbe tanti habitus est ut nisi mors intercessisset, sacra purpurâ decorandus crederetur. Ibi obiit, quo anno incertum, nullus enim scriptorum, quos vidimus, hunc indicavit."

¹⁵ *Gl'Inganni*, first 1562; *La Cameriera*, first 1583; *Il Beffa*, first 1584. Cf. Allacci, *Drammaturgia* (acresciuta), Venezia, 1755. Perhaps, Calvete's assurance, in 1552, that the plays were printed, need not be taken too seriously.

20, 1581, a certain Euangelista Ortense declares himself responsible for the prologue *and the title*: "questa Comedia (che nuda essendomi capitata alle mani) ho uestita del Prologo, & ornata del nome." The same thing must have happened to the original manuscript of what is now called *Gl'Inganni*; it had no title, the publishers had a vague remembrance that, about thirteen or fourteen years earlier, Secchi's *Gl'Inganni* had been performed before Philip of Spain, and as the title would fit the comedy (as it would almost any comedy), and as the historical advertisement would perhaps make it more popular, they decided, in good faith or bad, to call it *Gl'Inganni*. The publisher of the genuine *Gl'Inganni*, by dubbing it, out of sheer ignorance, *L'Interesse*, made the mistake still harder to detect, until after many centuries a fortunate conjunction of evidence made it possible to reestablish the facts.¹⁶

JOSEPH E. GILLET.

¹⁶ To confirm our remarks minimizing Stiefel's objections, it is interesting to find in the play which was actually performed (though perhaps not literally in this form) some remarks that might be thought offensive to Spaniards; e. g., in III, 1, Flaminio says: "Vorrei più presto alloggiare Spagnuoli in casa a discretione. . . ." Obviously, the play was not written expressly for the visit of the *mozo viejo*, as the Italians called Philip, to Milan.

As to the second play, performed on January 6, 1549, there seems to be so far no clue to its identity. Perhaps, in spite of Calvete, it was not printed at all, any more than *Gl'Inganni* was printed before 1552. As Alvarez tells us, the scene was Pisa, and from Cardanus (*ea comedia*) we see that it was not Secchi's, while Calvete thought it much inferior to the first. There is an Italian play dedicated to Philip of Spain, by Giovanni Vendramini, entitled *Nice, Poemetto Drammatico . . .*, Milano, 1551. But this, as Allacci remarks, "è un componimento Drammatico di un'atto solo con dieci Personaggi," and could hardly have lasted "desde prima noche hasta las diez." Still, against this testimony of Alvarez, the Escorial ms. maintains that the play was over at seven.

MRS. BROWNING'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN PERIODICALS

So far as the present writer can ascertain there are only two bibliographies of Mrs. Browning's works: one, a chronological list which includes individual poems as well as volumes, is in *Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, edited by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon; the other, in the Appendix of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. XIII. The former notes only two contributions to American periodicals, one notation being in error; the latter, although it includes a list of poems "which first appeared in the periodicals mentioned," ignores all but English publications.

The following bibliography includes, with a few exceptions which have been noted, poems actually contributed to the periodicals named, not those merely reprinted from the various editions of Mrs. Browning's works; and except when otherwise stated, the poems listed had not been previously published. Only the more important variants are noted.

1. *The Cry of the Human*. In the *Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion* for Nov., 1842 (not in *Graham's Magazine* as is stated incorrectly in the "Chronological List of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Works," pp. 653-658, of Sir F. G. Kenyon's edition of her poems.) In this version of the poem the refrain is

Be pitiful—
Be pitiful, O God!

Stanzas v-viii of the final version do not appear in the *Miscellany*.

2. *Four Sonnets*. *Graham's Magazine* for Dec. 1842. These sonnets, here published without individual titles, were those subsequently called *Grief*, *Substitution*, *Work*, and *Work and Contemplation* respectively. *Work* was published also in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* for July, 1844, and again in the same periodical for Sept., 1844.

3. *The Maiden's Death*. The *Pioneer* for March, 1843. Dated London, Jan. 4, 1843. This poem has never been included in any edition of Mrs. Browning's works, but at the sale of the Browning manuscripts in 1913, a copy was discovered which was published in the *Cornhill Magazine* for Dec., 1913, with the following note:

"This poem is one of a number of early poems by Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, as she then was, which are contained in a quarto MS. volume disposed of at the sale of Browning MSS. in 1913. 'The Maiden's Death' is undated, but stands among others, one of which bears the date 1839." In 1914 the poem appeared in *New Poems by Robert and Mrs. Browning*, edited by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon. The note quoted above was reprinted with the additional statement: "It was first printed in the *Cornhill Magazine*, December, 1913." As printed in the *Pioneer* the poem shows a number of variants from the MS. version, all of which indicate that it was revised and improved before its original publication.

4. *The Soul's Expression*. *Graham's Magazine* for July, 1843.
5. *Seraph and Poet*. *Ibid.*, August, 1843.
6. *The Child and the Watcher*. *Ibid.*, September, 1843. Previously published in *Finden's Tableaux* for 1840 as *The Dream*. Appears in collected works as *Sleeping and Watching*.
7. *Caterina to Camoens*. *Ibid.*, October, 1843.
8. *The Lady's Yes: A Song*. *Graham's* for January, 1844. Subsequently called *The Lady's Yes*.
9. *Loved Once*. *Ibid.*, for March, 1844.
10. *The Legend of the Brown Rosarie*. In *The Ladies' Companion and Literary Expositor* for May, 1844. Dated England, 1843. Previously published in *Finden's Tableaux* in 1840. Subsequently entitled *The Lay of the Brown Rosary*. As it appears in the *Ladies' Companion* the poem is shorter than it is in its final form, and various parts were later revised. The name Onora of the final version was substituted for Lenora of the earlier versions. A study of the early versions of the *Lay* may be found in *Kritische Studien zu E. B. Browning*, von Dr. Wilhelm Pöling. Munich, 1909. No mention is there made of the publication of the poem in the United States.

11. *A Drama of Exile*. *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* for July and August, 1844. Lines 1-1317 in July; the remainder in August. The following extract from a note prefatory to the poem explains the circumstances of its publication: "A couple of volumes of her [Miss Barrett's] poems (most of them now for the first time given to the world) are at the present moment passing through the press of Moxon, in London, under the title of 'A Drama of Life, and other poems'; [The English

edition of 1844 was actually entitled simply *Poems*] and will be published here by Langley on the reception of the remainder of the sheets, a part of which, containing the principal poem of the collection, we have been favored with permission to peruse; with the further privilege of inserting it, some time in advance of the publication on either side of the ocean, in this review." Lines 1-28 of the final version do not appear in the *Democratic Review*. From letters it is evident that the English edition appeared between the first and sixth of August, 1844; the American edition about October 5.¹ No references to the publication of the *Drama of Exile* in the *Democratic Review* are to be found in Mrs. Browning's published letters.

12. *Insufficiency*. *Democratic Review* for August, 1844. This sonnet and the sonnet *Work* (Cf. *supra* 2) were evidently contained in the proof sheets already referred to (Cf. *supra* 11). *Insufficiency* and the poem next listed must have appeared at approximately the same time as the English edition of 1844.

13. *Pain in Pleasure*. *Graham's Magazine* for August, 1844.

14. *The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point*. Contributed not to a periodical but to a volume entitled *The Liberty Bell*, published in Boston, 1848, for sale at the Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar held that year.

The following poems were contributed to the New York *Independent*² in 1860 and 1861, and were included in the volume *Last Poems* published after Mrs. Browning's death.

15. *First News from Villafranca*. June 7.

16. *King Victor Emmanuel entering Florence*, April, 1860. August 16.

17. *The Sword of Castruccio Castrocani*. August 30.

18. *Summing up in Italy*. September 27.

19. *Garibaldi*. October 11.

20. *De Profundis*. December 6.

21. *Parting Lovers*. March 21.

¹ *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*. Ed. F. G. Kenyon, I, 176-180, 206. The Bibliography in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, XIII, 533, dates the American edition 1845. Although this date appears on the title page, it is evident both from the letters cited and also from the fact that reviews appeared during the last months of 1844, that it was actually published before January, 1845.

² Elizabeth Porter Gould, *The Brownings and America*, 1904, p. 31.

- 22. *Italy and America*. March 21. (A prose article.)³
- 23. *Mother and Poet*. May 2.
- 24. *Only a Curl*. May 16.
- 25. *The King's Gift*. July 18.
- 26. *View across the Roman Campagna*. July 25.

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GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

PART III

24. HOLUNKE, HALUNKE

The accepted history of this word is outlined as follows by Kluge (*Etym. Wbch.* 1915):

HALUNKE M. ältere Nebenform (noch häufig durch das ganze 18. Jahrh.) *Holunke*, *Hollunke*; in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrh. (bei Luther unbelegt) aufkommend und zuerst bei Burk. Waldis 1527 Der verlorene Sohn v. 879 (als *Holuncke*) in der dem 16. Jahrh. geläufigen Bedeutung 'nackter Bettler verwildert aussehender Mensch' als ndd. bezeugt; als *Halluck* auch bei Er. Alberus 1542 Der Barfuser Münche Alkoran Nr. 94. In der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrh. tritt *Holunke* in schles. Quellen (vgl. Kern, *Zeitschr.* VII, 307) als Dialektwort für 'Ausläufer' auf, wie es später in Schlesien auch für 'Schlossdiener' oder 'Nachtwächter' vorkommt. Das Wort stammt aus böhm. *holomek* 'nackter Bettler, Häscher' (zu *holy* nackt).

On the other hand, Heinrich Schröder,¹ in a lengthy discussion, tries to show that the word is not of Slavic origin at all, but a mere *Streckform* of *Bunke* 'Knochen.' This rather fantastic attempt does not seem to have been convincing—Kluge does not so much as mention it. The present article, therefore, will not attempt a rebuttal of Schröder's arguments, but will propose a slight modification of the accepted history of the word, based on newly discovered instances, which antedate all those hitherto cited.

In Mag. Johannes Hasse's *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*,² contemporary with the events described, there is an account of the pun-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

² *Streckformen*, Heidelberg, 1906, pp. 11-19.

³ In *Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum*, Neue Folge, III, 207, Görlitz, 1852.

ishment meted out to certain city officials, accused of surreptitiously drinking some of the City Council's wine:

. . . sein sie freitags noch der aschermithwoch alle fur den rath gefordert, ist einem itzlichen sein gebrechen vnd vorseumlikeit vortzalt wurden, Vrban der einer thurstehr, Hans der czirkelmeister sein geurlawbet, vnd Pauln dem holuncken sein die XII gl, die man jme wochlich gegeben, abesaget, vnd so ers begeret, ein thur zugesaget wurden. Den andern ist ein ernste rede in der gemeyne gesaget, wolden sie diener sein, so solden sie thun, das einem itzlichen noch seinem dinste zuthun zustuhnde, ader ein rat wurde isz furder nicht erleyden konnen.

The word *Holunke* could not have been applied to a menial, for Paul, by way of punishment, is degraded from *Holunke* to *Thürsteher*. A footnote of the editor defines *czirkelmeister* as 'aufseher der stadtknechte,' and *holuncke* as 'salzaufseher,' both of which were, of course, positions of some responsibility. The date of this event is 1511. Three years later, in a description of the castle of Pentzig, the word again appears, this time presumably in the sense of 'guard,' 'watchman':

vnd sein die mawern also breit gewest, das die holuncken, der man den stets vier gehalten vmb vnd vmb haben gehn mogen (p. 350).

In connection with these earliest instances it is to be noted, firstly, that they are found in a territory bordering on Bohemia, and secondly, that there is absolutely no connotation of 'nackter Bettler.' This meaning, handed down by successive lexicographers, seems to be derived from the Low German text of Burkard Waldis:

Mochte he eyn ander mael dencken dar ann,
 Dat he wer blodt van hir gegann
 Vnd hadde dat syne szo gar vorterth,
 Dat he nicht clouwen mocht den sterth:
 Szo wer he eynn holuncken gelick.

In this scene, to be sure, the prodigal son, stripped by his evil associates, is represented as being naked and forlorn, but it does not of necessity follow that his resemblance to a *Holunke* is based particularly or entirely on this quality. In any case, the definition of 'nackter Bettler' is certainly without foundation in two other instances, cited under this heading in Moriz Heyne's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (II, 31), and taken from an article by Crecelius in

Germania, xx, 68. The ultimate source is an Augsburg *Flugblatt* of the year 1541, in which a conflagration "inn der klaynern statt Prag auff dem Küncklichenn schlosz" is described: "Mer ij Kinder die sind eines Holuncken geweszt, auch verbrannt worden. Mer ist ein Holunck genant Vicentz der ist verbrant gefunden worden." "Mer einer Jacob Holumeck, dem seind seine fingere seer verbrant worden." No further context is given, and there is nothing to warrant the definition of 'Bettler,' posited also by Crecelius. On the other hand, in the light of the second Görlitz passage ('guard,' 'watchman'), and particularly as this fire was at the castle of Prague, it is more than likely that *Holunke* here has the same meaning. In the same way, many of the passages quoted in Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, e. g. those from Fischart and Philander, would seem to admit of the interpretation 'attendant,' 'servant,' 'lackey,' instead of 'scoundrel.'

In conclusion I should like to point out that the meaning of the Bohemian *holomek* is not primarily 'nackter Bettler,' as the German lexicographers assume. For example, in Jungmann's *Slownjk Česko-Německý*, Prague, 1835, we find the meanings of the word developed in the following sequence: 1. lediger Mensch, Bursche; 2. Gerichtsdienner, Marktknecht, Stadtknecht, executor; 3. cliens, serviens nobilibus; 4. Häscher, Henkersknecht, Schergdiener, Schinderknecht, Trossbube; 5. nackter Bettler, Wicht, Halunke; 6. Schnapphahn. We see that the meanings under (2) are in complete accord with those of the early German instances discussed above. Furthermore, the transfer in meaning from 'Henkersknecht' or 'Schinderknecht' to the modern 'Halunke' is also logical enough, so that the idea of 'nackter Bettler' becomes superfluous.

25. DISPOT, DESPOT

Kluge cites the first instance of this word from a text of the year 1584. It is to be found much earlier, however, as the following instances from dated documents show:

wir horen sagen, das unser gnediger herre der konig geczogen seyn zu dem dispot und mit den Torken eynen tag halden sal . . . also ferre als her yn der Torkey nichte sey bey dem dispot, do sal en Hannos nicht suchen (*Scriptores rerum Siles.*, vi, 36: Breslau, 1423).

Do der herre Romissche konig czoch kein Turken wart, do starb Disput indes, der sein diner was (*Monumenta*,³ VI, 802: 1428).

der Türkisch kayser soll gestorben sein und die in des dispotz land und in Bossen sollen dem kung geschriben haben (*Publ.*,⁴ LXXI, 73: 1481).

The acc. sing. "dispotten" is quoted in *Publ.*, LXVII, 496, from a document dated 1479.

26. HORDE

This word, dated 1534 by Kluge, and still later by Heyne, occurs in a letter of the year 1429, written by Witold of Lithuania to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order:

Vordan von (*sic*) vor die nuwe czeitunge wellet wissen, als wir bei euwirn sendeboten haben euch entpoten, das der keiser Machmeth unser frunth hat uns geschreiben, wie das her iczunt ganz keiserthum und die Horde hinne hette (*Monumenta*, VI, 866).

27. DEGEN

The origin of this term for 'sword,' which appears in most of the European languages with the stem-vowel *a* (Fr. *daguer*, Eng. *dagger*), is still obscure. It is noteworthy that the earliest instances of *Degen*, in both Middle and Low German, are from outlying eastern districts, where Slavic influence might *a priori* be expected. The following example is from the statutes of the *Schwarzenhäupter* at Goldingen, Kurland, dated 1400:

Is dat ener enen degen edder were blotet under der nonen edder collation sündler verleeft, und ener wapen repe, dat is I daler (Bunge,⁵ IV, 303).

The next instance is found in the statutes of the Bakers' Guild of Cracow, dated 1458:

§ 16. Wer in dy Czeche mit Im tret gewere, messir, beyel, kewlen, degen adir welchirley das were, heymlich adir offinbar, der vorbussit von iczlichem gewere der Czechen eynen groschen (*Monumenta*, VII, 447).

³ *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, Cracoviae, 1882.

⁴ *Publikationen aus den Preussischen Staatsarchiven*, Leipzig, 1878 ff.

⁵ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, hrsg. von F. G. v. Bunge, Riga.

The usual Low German form, *dagge*, is abundantly cited by Schiller-Lübben, for the most part, however, in undated or late instances. I may therefore add what is probably the earliest instance, from a letter dated Dorpat, 1459:

. . . jamerlichen slogen in sin hovet unde wundeden em myt eyne daggen in sin liff (Bunge, XI, 662).

Other instances may be found in Bunge, 2. Abt. I, 617 (Windau, 1499); p. 705 (Reval, 1500); 2. Abt. II, 18, 19 (Narva, 1501).

Another set of instances, of a presumably older form of the word, occurs as early as 1428, in a letter enumerating the presents made to the Grand-duke of Moscow by various Russian potentates:

Do her quam czu herczoge Zegemunt . . . do gaff her im II^e pferde, suben unde sabel unde tatersche dangen vil . . . Zwytergal der gaff im LXXXX pferde, suben unde sabel unde dangen ouch vil . . . dar quamen Tateran vil de under mime hern gesesen sint in dem gebite . . . unde brechten im pferde, cameil, bogen vunde sus vil gift . . . gaff im II^e pferde unde suben unde vil dangen . . . vil gift unde gabe gebracht; czu dem ersten van pferden, suben unde sabel unde tatersche dangen. Unde vortan habin im geben herczogen, forsten unde hern sin' undersasen, de fertzich, de XXX, de XX, de XII, de X, V, VI, VIII pferde, suben, unde sabel unde dangen vil, di ich alczemale nicht gescriben en kan (*Monumenta*, VI, 798 f.).

As this new form *dangen* is in all but one of the instances coupled with *sabel*, and particularly as we have to do with princely gifts, it becomes reasonably certain that our word is the forerunner of *degen*. Of further interest, as indicating the ultimate origin of the word, is the adjective *tatersche*, added to the noun in two of the instances.

28. SÄBEL

Kluge dates this word "um 1500 aufkommend." The French and English word *sabre* is supposed to be derived from the German; the Russian form is *sablja*, the Polish, *szabla*. The oldest German instances are those given above, under *Degen* (1428). As the word *suben*, associated with *sabel* in all but one of the instances, is MHG. *schübe*, NHG. *Schaube*, it is possible that the initial consonant of *sabel* likewise had the value of our *sch*. This is surely the case in the following instances, spelled *schebel*, which would thus point to the Polish as the immediate source of the German

word. This conjecture is further strengthened by the fact that all the texts concerned are from districts not far from Polish territory:

vnnnd wer forder sulche gewere, iss sey swert schebel Thelitz kewlen barten hamer ader ander gewere by em treyt dem sallen iss dy Stat dyner nehmen vnnnd nicht wider gebin (*Script. rer. Lusat.*, N. F. I, 403: Görlitz, 1476).

dy Swertfeger klaget, wy yn dy messerer yn ire hanttwergk griffen vnd swertphegeten dy schebeln vnd *tilecz*, das yn nicht czw gehörte . . . So denne hewte dy gewonheit ist, das man gewönlich lange messer ader schebeln gebraucht vnd wenigk Swerte, vnd das phegen der Swertfeger Hanttwergk belanget, So süllen dy messerer alles was sy schmiden vnd machen irer arbeit von messeren ausrichten vnd czw bereiten, sunder was dy schebeln vnd korden antrit, süllen sy czw den Swertphegeren lossen phegen vnd poleren (*Monumenta*, VII, 472: Cracow, 1503).

So süllen dy Swertpheger alle messer, *tilecz*, korden, multhan vnd schebeln aldt vnd newe phegen vnd poliren (p. 481: Cracow, 1505).

It is further to be noted that the word is consistently declined weak in these latter instances.

29. KORDE

This term for 'sword' appears in Grimm's *DWb.* (v, 2800) as *Kurde*. The conjecture that it is a loan-word is borne out by the instances given above under *Säbel*. The oldest examples are probably those found in Martin von Bolkenhain's account of the Hussite Wars in Silesia and Lusatia, in which events of about 1430 are recorded:

vnnde czuntten an vil lichte vnde fackeln vnde lucernen vnde czogen aws ere Swerte, Corden vnnde messer . . . do hatthe Sigmund von Czirnaw vnde alle seyne helffer vnde gesellen ere bare swerte vnde Corden yn eren henden (*Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum*, N. F. I, 368).

30. TELICZ, TILECZ

This word, concerning the etymology of which nothing definite seems to be known, is discussed in Grimm's *DWb.* under the headings *Digliz* and *Tilitz*. Two additional forms, *tilecz* and *thelitz*, have been cited above, under *Säbel*. The spelling *thelitz*, found in the statutes of Görlitz of the year 1476, is the oldest of those hitherto recorded. Two Low German instances, in the spellings *tillitiz* and *tylitze*, occur in a document written in 1494 at Reval: eynen rock, 1 swert, 1 par haszen, 1 tillitiz, steyt to hope in al 30

mc . . . eynen rock, eyn par hoszen, eyn swert, eyn tilitze, steyt tohope 30 mc. (Bunge, 2. Abt. I, 24 f.). Geographically the instances are limited to texts from Austria, Nuremberg, Altdorf, Gera, Görlitz, Reval, and Cracow, where Slavic influence might be expected. The exact nature of the *tilecz* cannot be determined: it must have been a polished, edged weapon, from the fact that it came within the province of the *Swertpheger*.

31. MULTHAN

This word, which does not seem to be recorded in the dictionaries, is cited above, under *Säbel*, from a Cracow ordinance of the year 1505: *messer, tilecz, korden, multhan vnd schebeln*. The word is presumably of Slavic origin, and must have designated a cutting or thrusting weapon resembling those mentioned in the context.

32. JACKE

The German word *Jacke* is usually derived from the French *jacque*: the etymology of the latter, however, still seems to be obscure: Moriz Heyne, in his *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (II, 240), connects it with MHG. *schecke*, whereas Kluge prefers Arabic *šakk*. Romance etymologists tentatively derive it from the proper name *Jacob*. The earliest recorded instance of the German word seems to be in a Latin glossary of the year 1417. It may therefore be of interest to point out that the word, together with many other German (and Slavic) terms, occurs repeatedly, in latinized form, in the accounts of the expenditures of King Ladislaw and Queen Hedwig, during the years 1393-1395:

item pro *beyngwanthi* et armillis alias *scorky* . . . II $\frac{1}{2}$ marc. (*Monumenta*, xv, 159). item pro II tafttis albis ad yaccam dni Regis . . . quamlibet tafttam per V marc. recipiendo (p. 160). pro XII vlnis panni *brusselske* (p. 178). item pro calpetra dicta *clobuczek* cum *hunczcop* et pro pectorali dicto *bruszplath* (p. 199). item furmano, qui duxit XX balistas (p. 200). item pro II libris minus I quartali serici nigri ad iaccas, *francos* et ioppulas dni Regis (p. 211). pro . . . II vlnis tele ad iaccas predictas XIII sc. (*ib.*). item pro $\frac{1}{2}$ libra serici nigri ad complendos *francos* iaccarum dnorum Regis et Witoldi III marc. (p. 219).

To the compiler of these accounts certain of these words (*beingewant*, *brüsselsch*, *hunds Kopf*, *brustplatte*, *furman*) were evidently

German, but it is impossible to determine how certain others, such as *iacca*, *tafftam*, and *francos* were regarded, on account of the fact that they could readily be latinized, even if they were considered as German. At all events, these instances show conclusively that the word was current as early as the fourteenth century on the extreme eastern border of German-speaking territory, whereas certain lexicographers have assumed that it entered in the fifteenth century, and over the north-western border.

33. DAMASZTAT

The noun *Damast*, as the name of a material, is cited by Kluge from a text of 1524. An earlier form *damasztat*, found in a letter of the year 1483, seems to have escaped notice: ". . . des samats halben oder damasztats, das gilt uns alles gleich" (*Publ.*, LXXI, 278). It is of course evident that the ending *-at* of *damasztat* was caused by the analogy of *samat*.

34. DAMASKEN, DAMASKEIN

This adjective, supplanted in modern German by *damasten*, makes its appearance about the third quarter of the fifteenth century:

einen uberzug, rot damaszkein (*Publ.*, LIX, 767: 1474). ein rote damaszken schauben (*Publ.*, LXVII, 170: 1475). Sammethen, damaschken, attlas, koffter,* tabin kleder zal keyn purger noch burgerynne nicht tragen (*Monumenta*, VII, 470: Cracow, 1495).

35. TAFFET

The *DWb.* states that this word was borrowed from the Italian in the sixteenth century. The following instance is from the

**Koffter* is presumably a corruption of *kofften*, *kafften*, the adjective derived from the noun *Kaft*. As a simple noun, this does not seem to be recorded, but the *DWb.* (v, 26) quotes *Kaftsammet* from a text of the year 1661. The following word, *tabin*, is likewise unrecorded; most likely it is the adjective form of *Taffet*: cf. an entry dated 1603 in the *DWb.* XI, 1, 26, s. v. *Taffet*: "sollen kein höhere seiden als tobin oder taffet zu ober-röcken gebrauchen." *Tobin*, by itself, is unintelligible, but if we regard it as a variant of *tabin*, which is perfectly plausible, we read *tabin oder taffet*, the one term serving merely to define the other.

statutes of Cracow, of about the year 1432, in which various articles of merchandise are enumerated as follows: Fir stein mandeln, Funff stein reysz, Czechen taffet, Czechen stucke heidneschen leymeth (*Monumenta*, VII, 418). *Taffet* is here used in the sense of 'piece,' 'bolt of taffeta'; the word occurs in the same meaning in the Latin accounts of the court of King Ladislaw and Queen Hedwig, of the years 1393-1395:

pro III tafftis albis pro iopula facienda dno Regi et consuendo more Gallico, quamlibet per V marc. recipiendo (*Monum.*, xv, 158). item pro II tafftis albis ad yaccam dni Regis, in qua solummodo taffte loco bombicis sunt posite, quamlibet tafftam per V marc. recipiendo (p. 160). item pro XIV vlnis thafte griseo pro ornato predicto viali, recipiendo vlnam per XVII sc. (p. 164).

Other purchases of black, white, gray, and red taffeta are recorded, the black usually at much lower prices than the other colors. It is thus perfectly certain that the material, as well as the name, was well known at Cracow as early as 1393: whether it was brought there from Italy I am unable to determine.

W. KURRELMAYER.

RICHARD CUMBERLAND'S *WEST INDIAN*

On January 19, 1771, *The West Indian*, a sentimental comedy by Richard Cumberland, was acted at Drury Lane Theatre. This play has been, on the whole, the most discussed eighteenth century comedy of the sentimental school. *The Whitehall Evening Post* of February 9, 1771, accepted the play as "a good representation of life," and the following anecdote attests its currency in everyday talk: Lady Blessington, at Genoa with Lord Byron, turned to him and said: "You remind me of Belcour in the 'West Indian,' when he exclaimed, 'No one sins with more repentance, or repents with less amendment than I do.'" ¹ *The London Magazine* for January, 1771, commended its "variety of incidents" and *The Lady's Magazine*, for the same month, is delighted and amazed with the "benevolence breathing through it."

¹ *A Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington*, p. 102. The passage in the play may be found in Act III, Scene 3.

The plot was attacked by the critics, especially on the score of minute matters of etiquette, and the jewel scene,² but the best proof of the popularity of Belcour as a stage character is the mass of criticism in the periodicals of the day. Belcour was at once one of the most censured and most popular of dramatic characters. Although both Davies and Murphy thought him a new figure, others declared him a copy.³ It was asserted that Belcour was Ranger, a favourite rôle of Garrick's in Hoadley's *Suspicious Husband*, Lovelace, and many other familiar stage characters. *The Lady's Magazine* for February, 1771, observes that "Belcour is one of those *every day* rakes whom we meet with in the *every day* novels. He is, says this reviewer, a "compound of several *youths of spirit* who have appeared in the British Theatre during the last fifty years. The author has judiciously borrowed a leg from this rake, and an eye from that—a grace from one, and an air from another—blended all together, and produced Belcour." *The Critical Review* for February, 1771, says: "He who would look for the true designation of the Creole will rather find him in the hasty outlines of Lovel in *High Life Below Stairs*⁴ than in the most laboured scenes of this finished comedy." "Though it had a good effect upon the stage," says Arthur Murphy, "it cannot be said to be a copy from life. The foibles, the humours, and the real manners, of a West India planter, are not delineated with truth and accuracy."⁵

The critics attacked not only Belcour's conventionality, but also his "immorality." *The Monthly Review* for February, 1771, declared that his "false lustre" was too dangerously attractive, and another critic noted with horror that Belcour considered his attack upon Miss Dudley not criminal but "meritorious."⁶

But Belcour continued to be a popular Drury Lane character. The reason for his success *The Monthly Review* for February, 1771, calls "the amiableness and splendor of the character." "The 'West Indian' himself," says Hazlitt, "is certainly the support of the piece. There is something interesting in seeing a young fellow

² See *The London Magazine*, January, 1771.

³ See *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, II, 267; II, 88.

⁴ *High Life Below Stairs*, a farce ascribed to Garrick, but actually written by Reverend James Townley, was successfully acted at Drury Lane Theatre in 1759.

⁵ *Life of David Garrick*, II, 88.

⁶ *The Monthly Review*, February, 1771.

of high animal spirits, a handsome fortune, and considerable generosity of feeling, launched from the other side of the world . . . to run the gauntlet of the follies and vices of the town."⁷ In similar mood *The British Chronicle* of January 30, 1771, applauds "the frank and generous nature of the young West Indian, his volatile and gay spirit."

During the period of *The West Indian's* greatest popularity, the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the star rôles of the play were acted by a great variety of capable actors and actresses.⁸ One successful actor of the part of Belcour was John Bannister, Junior. Charles Lamb, on one occasion speaking of Bannister and Suet, referred to them as greater personal favourites with the town than any other actors of the time. Bannister's most notable performances were as Anthony Absolute and Tony Lumpkin. Adolphus describes him as Belcour: "The brisk, blundering activity, the easy confidence, the rapid advance toward doubtful and dangerous adventures, suited well with Bannister's talents."⁹

George Frederick Cooke played the part in 1773. Cooke, who had made a reputation in Elizabethan rôles, was famous for his portrayals of Iago, Richard III, and Shylock. He was a favourite, too, as Sir Pertinax McSycophant, and Sir Archy McSarcasm. Dunlap, in his *Life of Cooke*, says: "In October, 1773, he made his début at the Covent Garden Theatre, in the character of Belcour, in Mr. Cumberland's second and best comedy the '*West Indian*.'"¹⁰ Cooke on another occasion played the rôle of young Dudley.¹¹ Benjamin Wrench, a comedian of distinctly second rate powers, gave the character some popularity early in the nineteenth century. Wrench, whose most successful parts were Dr. Pangloss and Captain Absolute, succeeded Elliston at Bath in 1804, where he played the part of Belcour during the season of 1805-6. He again played Belcour at Drury Lane on October 7, 1809.

The other characters of the comedy were played by actors of note. Major O'Flaherty was, perhaps, more popular than Belcour. In 1785 Irish Johnstone was the most famous interpreter of the part.

⁷ *Lectures on the English Comic Writers*, p. 387.

⁸ A full description of the first night of *The West Indian*, and other facts in its stage history, is available in the present writer's *Richard Cumberland, His Life and Dramatic Works* (1917).

⁹ *Memoirs of John Bannister*, I, 208.

¹⁰ I, 148.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 49.

The London Chronicle of October 6, 1785, declares that Johnstone "manifested powers which will entitle him to a high rank in Comedy. His play was at once chaste and characteristic. He gave the part all the necessary brogue, without that offensive drawl and broad dialect." At the first Covent Garden performance Edward Shuter, admired for his *Scrub*, Master Stephen, and Launcelot, played Major O'Flaherty. Other actors of the part were Hamerton, Duncan, and Bland. *The London Courier* of December 24, 1807, commends the acting of Hamerton in the part, and *The General Magazine* for September, 1788, praises Duncan. The history of Bland as Major O'Flaherty, is, I believe, unknown. *The Memoirs of C. L. Lewis* contain various unimportant anecdotes concerning the history of the part.

The admirable if somewhat faint character of Charlotte Rusport was acted by Mrs. Abingdon. Fanny Barton, in turn a flower girl, a milliner's servant, and a cook-maid, had first become known on the stage as Mrs. Abingdon in 1759. After Garrick brought her from Dublin to London she was enormously successful as Beatrice, Lady Townley, Lady Betty Modish, and Millamant. Cumberland greatly admired her, and his *Memoirs* are filled with references to this actress, whom Garrick called "the worst of bad women," and Walpole "the very person!"¹² She achieved great success as Charlotte Rusport, and later acted the part of Letitia in Cumberland's play *The Cholerick Man*. Maria Theresa Kemble, wife of Charles Kemble, occasionally essayed the part of Charlotte Rusport. *The London Courier* of December 24, 1807, says she performed the part "respectably." Other actresses less known to fame who tried the rôle were Mrs. Duncan and Mrs. Day. *The General Magazine* for September, 1788, reviews Mrs. Duncan's performance. When the Theater Royal opened on November 21, 1772, with *The West Indian*, *The London Courant* of November 22 stated that "the actress who made her first appearance as Lady Rusport [Mrs. Day] received the loudest and most genuine marks of public favour." Miss Phillips, later Mrs. Crouch, "played the very interesting character of Louisa Dudley; and as she possessed in herself

¹² "The Cumberland Papers" in the British Museum contain several unpublished letters of Richard Cumberland and Mrs. Abingdon, written to each other.

every delicate charm which it required, she rendered it a highly finished portrait of polished nature."¹³

Genest in his *Some Account of the English Drama*, does not state the number of times *The West Indian* was performed at its first appearance, but, from accounts of Cumberland and the newspapers of the day, one may safely assume that the play enjoyed a run of approximately thirty nights. The other performances noted specifically by Genest occurred at Covent Garden on the following dates: October 15, 1773, February 22, 1786, October 21, 1797, and December 23, 1807. Besides these performances the Theatrical Register of *The Gentleman's Magazine* records between December 1, 1779, and January 29, 1805, a period of twenty-five years, about forty-eight performances. *The West Indian* was acted at least once in each of the years 1779, 1782, 1784, 1786, 1787, 1793, 1794, 1797; 1800 and 1803 saw the play performed twice each year; during 1774, 1785, and 1802 there were three performances each year; 1784 records four; 1786 five; 1789 six; and 1805 nine performances of the play. Such statistics indicate the unceasing popularity of the piece. Criticisms of later performances all show the favour of English, Scotch, Irish, and American¹⁴ audiences.¹⁵

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¹³ *Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch*, I, 166. Miss Farren acted the part of Charlotte Rusport in the same production. (*The London Chronicle* of October 1, 1772, describes Miss Masell as Louisa Dudley.) Miss Phillips, a capable actress, made her first appearance at Drury Lane Theatre in 1781 in the opera, *Artaxerxes*. Her *Memoirs* are an amusing but useful collection of old dramatic records, all touched by their author's sentimental viewpoint.

¹⁴ See Seilhamer, *History of the American Stage, 1792-1797*, III, 36, 80, 99, 198, 210, 220, 350. For a list of productions see *Ibid.*, III, 381.

¹⁵ *The Whitehall Evening Post* of January 26, 1771, contains a poem satirizing Cumberland and, in particular, *The Brothers* (1769) and *The West Indian*. Further significant comments concerning the stage history of *The West Indian* may be found in: *The Oxford Magazine* for January, 1771, and *The Universal Magazine* for February, 1771.

REVIEWS

Historical Outlines of English Phonology and Middle English Grammar. By SAMUEL MOORE. Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr, 1919. vii + 83 pages.

Those who have been struggling for a long time with the problem of how to present to classes in the history of the language not only the theory but the facts of linguistic change are sure to welcome Professor Moore's book. The work is in a sense pioneer. For the material has been accessible hitherto only in scattered periodicals and treatises; and probably the teacher has been inclined to neglect problems of morphology, although, in the case of teaching undergraduates, not for this reason alone. A tabular view of this kind can be used so that the student is not swamped with the detail; and the various devices, such as the phonetic transcription of Chaucer's verse, the tables of sound changes with the analogical forms, and the analytical summaries, make it especially clear.

Three of the divisions are devoted to Middle English: the inflections, the dialects, and Chaucer; and one to the history of English sounds. There is a constant attempt to lead up to the development of modern English, but in this respect a question of proportion may be raised. It seems a pity that not more attention is given to the sound changes of the Renaissance and of later periods, to the later influence of French spelling (as in *gu* in *guess*, *quest*, *guild*, etc. and *ce* in *once*, *mice*, etc.) and the confusion of *z* with *z* (as in *Dalziel*) and *p* with *y*, and to the origin and nature of the Scottish dialect. It is also a question whether graduate students, for whom presumably the chapter on dialects is written, will not require more than the present introduction to Old English, and whether especially for them an ample bibliography, full documentation for the various theories which are represented in the text, and an index, will not be seriously needed. The work as a whole, however, is well done; and adverse criticism, so far as there is any, will occupy itself with questions where opinions may differ.

The arrangement of the subject-matter is logical and in general satisfactory. Part One, "Modern English Sounds," is well placed as a preparation for the contrast with the older fields and as an

exercise in phonetics in a familiar period. But without being too captious, we may discover some faults. Section 14 of the Introduction should come earlier to avoid such indirectness as that in § 13—the apparent distinction in quality between “heat” and “hit.” And it might be further expanded to include the matter in footnote 5 (which deserves more prominence), and possibly to touch on the effect in the scansion of modern English verse. Section 15 might well add material on the impurity of modern vowels and thus avoid the awkwardness of the frequent references to it in footnotes (10, 38, 39c, 40). In the discussion of Chaucer’s language, Part Two, the account of “weak *h*” belongs on page 15. In Part Four the terms “sound change” and “analogy” are hardly well chosen, for analogy is often the cause of certain varieties of sound change. How the account of sound change in § 48 is related to this part rather than to the preceding is not made quite obvious. And analogy itself needs a somewhat fuller discussion in § 49, where the real cause of its operation (*e. g.* having a majority of the forms in one type) is not brought out. It is debatable whether the list of analogical changes on page 54 (§ 62) is not of the sort that it is best for the student to make for himself (*cf.* also § 36). The moral to be derived from the analogical tables is not always clear: why, for instance, analogy did not work in the case of “oxen” as in that of “hundes” and “sunnes,” or why *gōd* (with a long radical syllable) is not given as the form for the neuter plural nominative and accusative and *gōde* as the analogical form. If the arrangement is intended to lead merely to the question as to why in certain cases analogy failed to work, it would have been better to give some evidence that the author is aware of the irregularity, perhaps by giving a column of modern forms. The present outline seems to suggest that the answer to such a question of irregularity is implicit. Page 61, and page 62, note 62, why not keep uniformity by adhering either to the Mercian or to the West Saxon forms in all cases? Again, for uniformity, why not give the key-words in phonetic notation (§ 17) directly after the words in § 16 (*cf.* § 20)? The exercise of trying the pronunciation without the key is gained in the later passage.

One cannot ask that in a work of this kind the style should be especially eloquent. In general the presentation in this respect is

entirely adequate, and only a few minor obscurities are to be noted. For example, analogy is not merely "the regularizing, simplifying tendency of the human mind manifesting itself in language," if indeed it is a "tendency" at all. Saying on page 26 that "adjectives like *swete* are invariable in form" fails to bring out the principle involved; as a matter of fact they are like "*swete*" only in that they are invariable, but why is "*swete*" entitled to a final *e*? On page 35 we read the interesting observation that Chaucer "always used the forms with final *e* in rime." On page 76, § 86, II, 2, b, the footnote should obviously be incorporated in the text to read: "The Northern dialect regularly employs *-es*" etc. with a reservation as to the occasional use in Midland. On page 77, n. 91, would it not be safe to generalize that the *i* is usually graphic and employed merely to indicate the length of the vowels? But these are unimportant details, and not much fault is to be found for matters of this kind.

If there is a serious objection to the present form of the book it will be on other grounds: the introduction of certain innovations in theory which so far have not gained wide currency, and the admission of which to a manual like this is a matter of doubtful prudence. One instance of such an innovation is the recognition of American English in the strong dialectal flavor ("southeastern Pennsylvania") of the passage chosen in Part One to represent modern English, with such forms as *wəð*, *witʃ*, *u* (who), *əz*, *wən* (when), *ədʒəkətəd*, and in such quoted forms as *dū*, *nū*, *pēp*, *ēsk*, *glēd* (glad), *sēŋ* (sang). Whatever vividness is gained thereby is hardly worth the compromise thus necessitated; and such a norm as that in Professor Krapp's *Pronunciation of Standard English in America* (Oxford University Press, 1919) seems on the whole more inspiring. Another innovation is found in the study of Old English sounds: What evidence puts the change from *æ* to *ē* as early as this (or if this is Mercian, why are West Saxon forms cited on page 61)? What evidence proves such complete palatalization of *c* or *sc* in Old English (in the Midland *Bestiary* we have "kirkedure"; in the *Haveloc* "rike" rhymed with "sike": cf. Emerson, *Middle Eng. Reader*, p. lxxiii, § 94)? The most striking innovation, however, is the omission of the French *ü* (*studie, juste, juge, duchesse*) and the introduction of *iu* (in *reule, vertew*, pp. 13, 42, 45) in the study of Chaucer's language.

In regard to this latter point surely more than the explanation in note 45 (p. 42) is necessary. The evidence from spellings of *ü* as *ew* is rendered nugatory by the fact that the *eu* group is spelled *ew*, by the fact that we very rarely find *iw* or *iu* spellings and on the other hand we get such rhymes as "rewthe" and "trouthe," and by the fact that *ew* may well indicate an *eu* pronunciation (even for *Steward* and *Tewsday*).¹ The spelling *ew* is possibly to be explained even for an *ü* if it came in with the French borrowings in *ieu*, *eu*, or *iv*, which were real diphthongs but which by Chaucer's time had perhaps become *ü*.²

Real evidence is to be gained only from a study of Chaucer's rhymes. In most cases we find that Chaucer keeps *eu* < O. E. *ēow* distinct from French *ü* (whatever its development). He does, however, rhyme *muwe* and *truwe* (possibly from *tryw*—perhaps, therefore, we have here a southern *ü*); and *hewe*, *trewē*, *blewe*, *knewē*. On the other hand, he rhymes *hewe* (this time from O. E. *hīwa*) and *untrewē*. The difficulties of these rhymes are satisfied by *eu* or *ü* as well as by *iu*. The only question is whether it is more difficult to imagine that *iw* became *eu* or *ü* before it became *iu*; or that *ēu* became *iu* before *ē* became *ī*. The scarcity of such rhymes in Chaucer in contrast to the great abundance of rhymes where French words (like *commune*, or *aventure*)³ rhyme only with one another seems to indicate that the rhyme is not perfect in the cases I have cited. It must be remembered that in his court life Chaucer was constantly submitted to renewed French influence; and this point may explain why he (and others) felt free to pronounce "richesse" with the main stress on the last syllable, al-

¹See Behrens, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England*, Heilbronn, 1886, *Französische Studien*, v, 2, p. 121; Sweet, *Hist. Eng. Sounds*, §§ 691, 861; *New Eng. Gram.*, Oxford, 1900, §§ 805. Cf. ten Brink, *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*, § 74, β, "Der Me. ü-Laut dem ē-Laut nahe stand."

²Cf. Wild, *Die sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten der wichtigeren Chaucer-Handschriften*, Wien und Leipzig, 1915, pp. 221 ff. Chaucer rhymes various French sounds; *meuwe*, *steuwe*; *suwe*, *muwe*; *remewe*, *glewe*.

³See the list in Kittredge's *Observations on the Lang. of Chaucer's Troilus*, p. 80, § 27; p. 68. Also see Cromie's *Rime-Index*, of which I have made considerable use. One rhyme, *mercurie*=*murie* (A 1385-6), may show French *ü* rhyming with southern *ü*. Cf. *myrie*=*pyrie* (O. E. *pyrige*, E 2217-8, 2325-6). See *Eng. Stud.*, XLVII, p. 55. On the other hand, cf. *coitu*=*eschu* (E 1811-2).

though it had been introduced as early as Layamon and was certainly naturalized (cf. the *Cursor Mundi*, l. 8129, and the use in *Piers Plowman*). "Auntur" was an old word in the English of Chaucer's day and probably known to Chaucer, but he uses *aventure*. Since he felt free to use any of several legitimate pronunciations for a word (like *merie*, *myrie*; *seigh saugh*; *dye*, *deyen*) it seems almost certain that he used the French *ü*, whatever other developments he found available or useful. Kaluza (*Chaucer Handbuch für Studierende*, Leipzig, 1919, pp. 218, 221) gives both *ü* and *eu*. In this connection it is proper to add that Chaucer probably said "tfambres" and "stablës" rather than "tfambërs" and "stabels" (cf. Moore, p. 17). And the discussion of consonant sounds (p. 15) should include the fact that in *-cion -tion*, the *c* and *t* were pronounced with the French clearness.

Aside from the question of innovations, some omissions may be noted. Page 2, § 4, might well include a distinction from the quality of modern foreign *d* and *t*. There seems to be something arbitrary in the list of sounds in § 16: why not include long *ā*? If half-long *i* is included, why not half-long *e* or *o*? Why not include the two sounds of *r* (initial and postvocalic)? Would it not be more logical to indicate the *u* in *urge* as *Δ*-long? Why give the long and short sounds of *ju* and not of the other diphthongs? The material in footnote 6, applicable to almost all short vowels, involves an important principle and does not belong in a footnote. On page 14, it would be a good plan to explain the character and source of *ō* "like *u* in full": it is really a graphical substitute for *u*. On page 24, include under (*ee* or *e*) the Old English source in *ā*. Include the romance genitive ("your heritage right") and the romance plural ("places delitables") in the discussion pp. 25 ff. In regard to *nones* (p. 27), Stratmann (Bradley) notes an appearance in the *Ormulum* (l. 7160). Page 28, "herd" is the form of the past-participle of "here" in Chaucer. Page 35, "harde" is a dative (cf. "of evene lengthe"). In § 40, p. 35, state that the first requisite for the pronunciation of final *e* is metrical necessity. Page 40, why not refer to the principle of the shortening of vowels in compounds, as in *thirteen*, *children*, *wisdom*? Note 41 is of doubtful value,—cf. *brēost*, *dūst*, *fōstor*; *Christmas* is a compound. Page 46, ¶ 7, exceptions here unexplained occur in *clensen*, *clennesse*, *amenden*, *wenden*. Page 47, § 45, what happens to the unstressed vowels after the Middle Eng-

lish period? Pp. 51 ff., why not give at least approximate dates for the Middle English periods; and why not regularly give the quantities of the Middle English vowels (see the distinction between the present and preterite plural of *riden*—cf. p. 30)?

The printing of the book is good, although the a, b, and c, footnotes should be eradicated in another edition, and perhaps a more consistent policy as to the use of Italic and heavy type might be attained. P. 1, n. 1. is "*those* that are not" correctly stated? P. 5, third line, read "quantity." P. 7, l. 14, read "out." P. 9 (notation, l. 5) read "ør rait"; (l. 16) read "kōld." P. 10 (l. 48), read "øv"? P. 23, l. 4, read "hōli." P. 26, § 27, read "Adjectives." Pp. 35-6, there are two sections numbered 40. P. 39, n. 39b, insert "r" at the end of the first line.

With attention to some of these details the finish of the book will be improved, which, however, is already a valuable contribution in its present form. Perhaps the chief originality consists in the review of the Middle English Dialects and the Appendix devoted to Middle English Spelling. But the work as a whole is competent and thorough.

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Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm. Neu bearbeitet von JOHANNES BOLTE und GEORG POLÍVKA. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1918. Dritter Band (Nr. 121-225), VIII + 624 pp.

In the preface to the second volume of this monumental work, issued in 1914, Dr. Bolte stated that it would not be continued until the war was concluded. Fortunately the editors were able to prosecute their labors and complete the third and last volume of the *Anmerkungen* proper, leaving for the final fourth volume a brief history of the collection, a survey of the *Märchen* of other peoples, and an index of the themes of the stories.

The notes of the third volume cover *Märchen* 121-200, the ten *Kinderlegenden* and the six *Bruchstücke* of the definitive edition of 1857. In my review of the first two volumes in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXI, p. 41, I called attention to the publication by Dr. Bolte in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, 1915, of

two stories contained in the papers left by the brothers Grimm. Four more were published in the same journal in 1916 and 1917, and these with four additional stories from the same source appear in the third volume of the *Anmerkungen* and constitute numbers 217-225 of the complete work. These nine *Märchen* (the two stories in the *Zs. d. V. f. Volkskunde*, 1915, are printed in the *Anmerkungen* as one story with variant) form the only additional new matter in the three volumes of Bolte and Polívka. I may mention here that six of the stories omitted by the Grimms in the later editions of the *Märchen* are reprinted in this third volume. In my article in *Modern Philology*, vols. XIV and XV, "The External History of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen of the Brothers Grimm," I was able to consult only the first and second volumes of the *Anmerkungen* and for these six omitted stories I could refer only to E. Tonnelat, *Les contes des Frères Grimm*. I believe this is the only addition to my article made necessary by the appearance of the third volume of the *Anmerkungen*.

I shall examine very briefly the nine new stories mentioned above which students of popular tales will want to know at once. No. 217, "Der dankbare Tote und die aus der Sklaverei erlöste Königstochter," and variant "Des Toten Dank," belong to the cycle of the "Grateful Dead" so thoroughly discussed by Professor G. H. Gerould (London, 1908). No. 218, "Die getreue Frau," the romantic story of the wife whose husband is captured by the Turks. He wears a magic shirt which remains white as long as his wife is faithful to him. The Sultan learns of this and dispatches an emissary to seduce her. He fails and the wife disguised as a pilgrim follows him and by her harp and voice wins the favor of the Sultan who presents her with three Christian slaves, among them her husband. When the husband reaches home and learns of the long absence of his wife he is suspicious, but she appears to him in her disguise and reveals herself as his deliverer.

No. 219, "Die Prinzessin im Sarge und die Schildwache," a princess through her parents' thoughtless wish falls into the power of the devil. After her death she leaves her grave in the church and strangles the soldiers on guard. She is finally delivered by a youth who on the counsel of an old man hides himself in the chancel, on the altar, and in the coffin of the princess. No. 220, "Fürchten lernen," is a variant of No. 4, "Von einem der auszog,

das Fürchten zu lernen." No. 221, "Sankt Peters Mutter," when Saint Peter came to heaven he found that his mother was in Purgatory and asked the Lord to allow him to release her. His prayer was granted and he was carrying her to heaven when many poor souls clung to her garment in the hope of escaping with her. In her envy she shook them off and they all fell back into Purgatory. Then Peter recognized his mother's wicked heart and let her drop too. This is a widely-spread story, see Italian versions in Crane's *Italian Popular Tales*, pp. 192, 362. No. 222, "Warum die Hunde den Katzen und die Katzen den Mäusen feind sind," a lion ennobles a faithful dog and gives him a parchment patent of nobility. The dog entrusts it for safekeeping to a cat which hides it in a hollow tree where it is gnawed to pieces by a hungry mouse. Hence the enmity of dogs and cats. No. 223, "Warum die Hunde einander beriechen," the lion at a banquet to which the other beasts were invited, notices that the pepper is missing. He sends a dog to town to fetch some; but the dog plays a trick on the lion and runs away with the pepper. After waiting a long time the lion sends other dogs in search of the culprit. Since then dogs smell each other to discover the dog with the pepper, but they have not yet found him. The two stories just mentioned are related and one of the features of the second finds an echo in Phaedrus, iv, 18, "Canes legati ad Jovem," and is repeated in Fortier's *Louisiana Folk-Tales*, p. 45. No. 224, "Der Horcher, der Läufer, der Bläser und der Starke," is a variant of No. 71, "Sechse kommen durch die Welt": No. 225, "Vom Mäuschen und vom Bratwürstchen," is a variant of No. 23, "Mäuschen und Vögelchen und Bratwurst."

The *Anmerkungen* furnish most interesting reading, especially the notes to stories of literary origin, of which there are so many in the Grimm collection. I may mention, for example, No. 144, "Das Eselein," and No. 46, "Die Rübe": in the notes to the former story the editors give the first critical text of the Latin poem *Asinarius*, based on six mss.; in the notes to the latter story the text of the Latin *Raparius* is given from the oldest known ms. with the variants of three other mss. The notes to some of the stories attain the proportions of extensive monographs, e. g. Nos. 126, "Ferenand getrü un Ferenand ungetrü," 129, "Die vier kunstreichen Brüder," 131, "Der Eisenhans," 152, "Das Hirten-

büblein," 158, "Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenland," 187, "Der Hase und der Igel," and 192, "Der Meisterdieb." There is a particularly interesting note on the mysterious saint "Kummer-niss" who appears in No. 157a, "Die heilige Frau Kummernis," a *Märchen* replaced from 1819 on by "Das Hirtenbüblein."

Finally I should like to call attention to the list of works cited, pp. 560-624. A glance at this list will show the enormous growth of this class of literature since the comparatively scanty literature cited by the Grimms in the editions of 1822 and 1856, and will reveal the wealth of material existing in recent Scandinavian and Slavic works.

I am sure that all scholars will hail with admiration this splendid example of profound erudition and that it will be instrumental in bringing together again those whom war has parted for a time.

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A Spanish Reader. By JOHN M. PITTARO. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company [1919]. x + 298 pp.

The object of this new reader, as stated in the preface, "is to give the beginner an active vocabulary of a practical and literary nature; to provide him with as much information about Spain and Spanish America as a book of this scope will provide; and to afford him an opportunity to talk and write about what he has read." To a large extent Mr. Pittaro has succeeded in his undertaking. The vocabulary of about 4,300 words is too large for any considerable portion of it to become the practical aid of a beginner. Also the vocabulary of some of the last selections is too difficult for first-year students.

The subject-matter may be divided, roughly, into three parts. The first part treats of *el español, nuestra escuela, la clase*, etc., and the scenes and things most familiar to the student, such as *la familia, el periódico, la división del tiempo*, etc., there being inserted here and there *refranes, adivinanzas*, and short *poesías* to be memorized. Selections of this kind continue to page 57, where new material is added in the form of short stories, by Mr. Pittaro and others, containing usually some information about

Spain and Spanish America. This part of the book gradually removes the student from his immediate surroundings, and introduces him to the entirely foreign matter beginning on page 98 and continuing to the end of the book.

In the first two parts the material is well graded. The present tense is used to page 60, and the subjunctive, except in commands, occurs for the first time on page 65. To be entirely consistent Mr. Pittaro should have explained the use of the subjunctive, to say nothing of the use of the past tenses of the indicative, for he persistently emphasizes the verb and goes to great pains to explain the use of such expressions as *entrar en*.

As already intimated, the last selections are too difficult for the rest of the book. Furthermore, their content and arrangement appear to the reviewer to violate one of the fundamental principles of pedagogy, that of concentrating the attention on one idea or set of ideas long enough to be able to retain a definite impression of them. Instead of centering his informative material and his stories on one country, Mr. Pittaro covers the Spanish-speaking world. The inevitable result is vague generalities concerning the life and customs of the various peoples studied. The opposite should be the case. The elementary reader should give fairly complete, definite information concerning some one, or at most, two countries. It may be urged that the use of variety is another fundamental pedagogical principle. The reply is that there are so many varied and different things in Spain alone, for instance, that may be studied, that they cannot all be put into one reader. But they would have the unity of dealing with one country, and would give the student a more definite impression of that country. Granted Mr. Pittaro's plan of treating all the Spanish-speaking countries in his book, in which he is following the more common tendency these days, the arrangement of the selections does violence to the principle of unity. Beginning with page 98 and continuing to the end of the text, there are some twenty-six selections; of them eleven may be said to be related directly or indirectly to Spanish America, eight to Spain, and the remaining seven to either Spain or Spanish America. If we represent these three classes by A, B, and C, respectively, their order is as follows: C, A, B, B, C, C, B, B, C, B, A, C, A, A, A, C, B, B, C, A, B, A, A, A, A, A, A. The student would learn more about A or B if the selections treating the countries in A and B, respectively, were put together, rather than being inter-

mingled as indicated above. Also it would seem that class C should be eliminated, or practically so, because excellent literary selections dealing with A and B are available. In other words, the reviewer thinks that selections which present the life, customs, and history of the country or countries concerned, and which at the same time have literary qualities, should predominate in the latter part of such a reader as this.

Mr. Pittaro's plan also causes the book to be too long. More stories of the type of *Recuerdos escolares* (A), in which the reader gets a glimpse of the country where the scene is laid, and a great many less of those where the scene may be anywhere and whose content gives little or no idea of things or people Spanish or Spanish American (C), would have given us a more interesting and a more effective book.

The various *ejercicios* and *cuestionarios* following each selection are good. The emphasis in these exercises, as well as in the notes, is on the verb, although there is a fairly systematic study of other parts of the grammar. The notes are where they should be, at the bottom of the page, and treat only of grammatical difficulties. Biographical notes, etc., are placed in the vocabulary.

The forty-nine illustrations, representing scenes from all parts of the Spanish-speaking world, form an attractive feature of the book. There is a map of Spain and one of South America.

A very complete list of class-room phrases is at the beginning of the book, while a helpful list of the idioms used follows the text. The paradigms of the regular, radical-changing, and twenty-three of the more common irregular verbs will be an aid to the student.

The typography is good, and the proof-reading was well done. Few misprints have been noted. Notwithstanding the objections set forth above, Mr. Pittaro has given us an excellent book that is one step nearer the ideal reader.

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A Subject-Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser, by CHARLES HUNTINGTON WHITMAN, Published under the auspices of The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918. Pp. xi, 261.

The question at once asked on seeing this book is, Why an index when we have Osgood's concordance? In the first place, the *Index* can be bought for \$3.50, while the sumptuous *Concordance* costs \$20.50, enough to make even a zealous student of Spenser pause. And the *Index* is portable, but the *Concordance* is as large as a dictionary. It is true that for study of Spenser's language the *Index* makes no pretense of competing with the *Concordance*, and that the latter has the advantage of completeness.

But though the *Index* cannot replace the *Concordance*, in its proper field it is of great value. We find a large number of headings which do not occur in the *Concordance*, such as Foreign Expressions, Architecture, Agriculture, Fine Art, Landscape Gardening, Astronomy, Musical Terms, Enchanted Objects, Church Terms, and Sports and Pastimes. It is evident that the value of the book is determined largely by the number and completeness of such headings. Professor Whitman has done this task well, and doubtless has reasons for not giving others, such as Colors, Ornaments, Liberty, Courage, Allegories, Processions, Arthurian Names, and Greek Allegorical Names. Some of the existing headings might have been extended. For example, under Lust might be the names of characters which typify the sin, such as Hellenore, and Labryde (if he be correctly interpreted as representing sensual appetite). Indeed, the practise in listing the qualities represented by various allegorical characters is apparently not uniform. We find Sans Loy under Lawlessness, and Furor under Wrath, but under Greed there is no reference to Pollente's groom—the type of greed—and Ollyphant, the representative of lust, is not referred to under Lust, nor Phedon under Anger, nor Adicia under Injustice. Indeed, Injustice does not appear as an entry.

Mr. Whitman's remark in the Preface that the allegory "has proved rather difficult to manage" perhaps explains something of this, tho he evidently has in mind the historical rather than the ethical allegory. He has listed a number of men commonly identified with various characters of the *F. Q.*, but not named in the poem, such as Lord Grey. In this matter it is perhaps well to

err on the side of liberality, tho much of the allegorical interpretation of Spenser may not be more permanent than the elder Rossetti's interpretation of *The Divine Comedy*; hence, Mr. Whitman's conservatism is commendable.

Another valuable feature of the work is that some of Spenser's errors are noted. When the poet speaks of Ixione but means Hesione, the *Index* gives both names. Why was not this done for Spenser's mistake about the marriage(?) of Theseus and Ariadne, which he makes the cause of the contest between the Centaurs and Lapithae? As is explained under Lapithae, the marriage was that of Perithous and Hippodamia. But we look under Centaurs, Theseus, Perithous, and Ariadne, without suspecting any mistake, and the name of Hippodamia does not appear as an entry. Similarly, it seems that under Philyra, whom Spenser confuses with Nais, there should be a reference to Nais. Likewise Jael, whose exploit is attributed to Debora, should have a place in the alphabetical order.

Mr. Whitman has been at some pains to trace the career of each character in the *F. Q.* This is helpful to one who wishes to be sure of the story, and can be done in the *Index* better than in the *Concordance*; the actions of the person in question are given in outline, and there are references to some passages not to be discovered through the *Concordance* because the name of the person is not used. For example, we do not learn from it that Arthur is mentioned in *F. Q.* 2. 9, yet the *Index* gives several references to this canto.

It is difficult to gather from the *Concordance* all of Spenser's references to authors. We might look for Homer under Maeonian Quill, but probably few of us would look under Ascræan Bard for Hesiod. In the *Index*, references to an author are brought together under his name, and then all are collected under the heading Authors Mentioned by Spenser. Dante is unfortunately omitted from this list.

A few cross-references might be added. Spenser, like his contemporaries, identified Babel with Babylon; they should be connected in the *Index*. The confusion of the two, and a further confusion of Babylon and Nineveh, led Spenser to make Ninus the builder of "Babell towre." The *Index* makes Nimrod the builder of the Tower of Babel, though Spenser nowhere refers to this

common tradition, but always assigns the work to Ninus. His reference to "Egyptian slime" shows, as Mr. Whitman says, confusion with the bitumen of Babylon, but we may remember that Babylon was often put in Egypt, as in the *Decameron* (Nov. 99), and that the slime or mud of the Nile was celebrated, as we find in the *Index* under Nile. Spenser intends to suggest resemblance between the mud of the river, from which, we read in Diodorus, living creatures were bred by the heat of the sun, and the dust of which man was formed. The *Index* should also give cross references between Thessaly and Haemony. The article Phoenix should refer to Ashes, where there are several passages relating to the bird, and a missing reference to the *Visions of Bellay*. Apparently this should be *Bel.*¹ 6. 14 and *Bel.*² 7. 14. If Nipples, Paps, and Dugs are to appear, there should be cross-references. Under Memory we should find Anamnests. Araxes should be listed, with a reference to Ooraxes, and Adrian Gulf should appear under Sea.

Among the Italian Expressions should be found *pavone*. It would be interesting also if all the Italian proper names could be assembled, such as Mongiball, Orgoglio, Parlante, and Noctante. Under Painting we expect some reference to the gates of the Bower of Bliss, with their wonderful pictures, but apparently there is no reference to them under any of the terms relating to fine art.

Under Arms, Law of, Mr. Whitman says that Cymocles and Pyrocles break this law by despoiling the body of Guyon. Spenser says that it is by striking foe undefied (2. 8. 31. 7), tho it is dishonorable for them to rob Guyon's body (stanzas 16, 25, 26). Under Chivalry there are several references to the law of arms which do not appear under that entry. Possibly we might add 3. 8. 12; 5. 3. 38. 7; 5. 11. 46; 6. 1. 26. 8. A satyr, not Therion, is the father of Satyrane. Some of the poet's references to Mount Ida are perhaps to the mountain of that name in Crete; at least he was familiar with the story that Jove was born there (7. 7. 41. 53). The interpretation of *F. Q.* 2. 9. 32. 1-4, as given under Body, Conduit-pipe, and Vessel, is probably incorrect. The round vessel is the urinary bladder, and the conduit-pipe the urethra. Compare Fletcher's *Purple Island* (3. 20). Fletcher has spoken of the intestines and "Port Esquiline" in the preceding canto.

It is to be regretted that the *Index* does not cover Spenser's prose as well as his poetry.

Many of the things I have mentioned as defects Mr. Whitman, with the knowledge he has gained during his work, probably would not have other than they are. Indeed to attempt an index that would suit every one would be to court the failure against which we are warned in the fable. And compared with the total of the work, the defects I have mentioned—with some thought of a later edition—are of little consequence. The whole is done with care and accuracy, and will be very serviceable to students of Spenser.

To look at the list of varied subjects given in the book is a stimulus to the imagination, and leads one to picture "forests and enchantments drear," stately castles, gallant knights, lovely ladies, cunning artists, saints and sages. We have before us as tho arranged in a storehouse the riches of the poet, and can hardly help turning to the poem to see how the great stones are used to build the edifice, and the statues and rich jewels disposed for its adornment.

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Samuel Butler: Author of "Erewhon." A Memoir. By HENRY FESTING JONES. London: Macmillan and Company, 1919. Two volumes.

Butler was himself a shatterer of illusions, and he seems to continue to exercise this function "on lips of other men," for this memoir shatters many of one's illusions with regard to him. Within a very narrow circle of intimate friends he seems to have been a kindly and considerate man, often singularly humane; very lovable in his friends' eyes. But whether his memory will become one of those over which lovers of literature delight to linger is another matter. For all the apparent breadth of his interests and for all the reverence that he exhibits in the presence of the few objects of his adoration—"the Authoress of the *Odyssey*," Shakespeare, Giovanni Bellini, Handel,—he was essentially a narrow-minded man and, be it said, an inordinately conceited one. Generally it was sufficient for a person or a book to have won an established reputation to make Butler distrustful or scornful of the deserved fame. He did not read Milton or Balzac or Keats or

Fitzgerald's *Omar*; but that did not prevent him from damning them one and all. So long as he limits his impertinences in musical criticism to strictures upon Gounod one can bear with him though one may not agree with him; but when he turns his impudence upon Bach or Beethoven one leaves him in weary disgust. One can forgive and laugh over his famous commentary upon Wordsworth's poem "She dwelt among the untrodden ways"; but a little of that sort of thing goes a long way. In truth, his favorite method of, "standing propositions upon their heads," though it is at times astonishingly clever, is often merely stupid. He is the father of those moderns who delight in paradox, "that bastard child of the half-lie" as Mr. Noyes has well phrased it. Before we are through with him we are tempted to exclaim, with an opponent of Mr. Shaw: "We are tired of seeing these blue-behind apes jumping about upon the trees of paradise." What casts a shade almost of pathos over Butler's impertinence is the fact, brought out by Mr. Jones with apparent complete unawareness of the light shed by it upon Butler's claims to greatness, that so many of his witty remarks were unoriginal. They were first uttered in his presence, or written in a letter to him (often by his friend Miss Savage), or discovered in some out-of-the-way book; and were then appropriated for his own use. Often he treasured some deplorably trite bit of cleverness for years before finding a fit occasion to bring it out.

He passed much of his life in questioning the motives of other men of assured reputation; and now that his own fame is established, temporarily at least, on so lofty a plane one may wonder whether he was not a self-deceiver. He made the task of compiling his biography a singularly easy one by sorting and docketing his correspondence and note-books, yet he declared that, far from being certain that these documents would ever be of general interest, he believed rather that probably after his death few people would have any curiosity about him. One may hold, on the contrary, that there is good evidence for believing that he thought that nothing concerning him would be without interest to humanity. Certainly his biographer (whose own personality is completely absorbed in that of his subject) has accepted this view, for there are few memoirs in the language that contain more trifling, insignificant, petty details than does this one. Mr. Jones's concluding

words are a refusal to admit that his book, despite its great length, is tedious. One cannot agree with him. It is inordinately strung out. The thousand pages of it might well have been condensed into a few hundred with no serious loss. It is impossible to discover just why the "general reader" or even the historian of literature can be expected to be concerned with the minute details given with regard to Mr. Jones's own history or Butler's valet and washerwomen, the management of his real estate, the precise itinerary of each of his innumerable Italian journeys, the exact number of times that Butler brushed his hair every evening, or the precise origin and development of a hundred by no means always excellent sayings and epigrams and satirical observations. A defense of this method of biography by pointing an analogy to the minutiae of the *Life of Johnson* does not hold for several reasons. Boswell was an artist and each detail given goes to render more vivid the portrait of his hero. Butler's personality did not warrant any such elaborate method of portraiture as that warrantably employed upon Johnson. And Boswell was a genius after his kind, while Mr. Jones is certainly not.

Mr. Conrad, justifying his *Personal Record*, has said that "Imagination, not invention, is the supreme master of art as of life." And he goes on to say that "an imaginative and exact rendering of authentic memories may serve worthily that spirit of piety toward all things human which sanctions the conception of a writer of tales." To an extraordinary degree Butler depends upon such "authentic memories." It has long been known that *The Way of All Flesh* is largely autobiographical, but Mr. Jones shows that there is hardly a situation or character or episode in the book (up to the point where Ernest makes the farcical error that lands him deservedly in prison) that is not drawn directly from Butler's own experiences or from those of people with whom he was acquainted. The amusing letters from Theobald to Ernest become painful reading when we learn that they are almost exact transcripts from the letters of Canon Butler to his son. Even the witty sayings of Miss Althea Pontifex should often be credited in justice to Butler's friend Miss Savage and not to Butler himself. This mosaic or patch-work method of working is often very ingenious; there is of course amazing cleverness shown in weaving together these shreds and patches into a whole; but is the whole artistic? Did Butler

ever, indeed, save perhaps in *Erewhon Revisited*, achieve a genuine work of art? I think not. Moreover, Butler completely lacked "that spirit of piety toward all things human" of which Mr. Conrad writes. Without that, it is safe to say, no man has ever risen to the heights of literature or conduct. He was primarily a satirist. He dabbled in literary problems as an eccentric amateur. So long as we considered that his speculations with regard to the composition and locality of the *Odyssey* were the clever whimsicalities of one who enjoyed annoying the "big wigs" of scholarship they were amusing enough. But the amount of energy expended upon the "proof" of this theory is simply shocking. So also his edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, though the view therein brought out is repulsive, confused, and not even wholly original, was pardonable (perhaps) until one learned from Mr. Jones of the intense seriousness with which it was taken. Even his speculations upon evolutionary theory are by no means deserving of all the belated fame that has overtaken them. Butler deceived himself by believing that the scientists had organized "a conspiracy of silence" against him. They did no such thing. Patient careful experimenters, proceeding with neither haste nor rest from step to step, are justified in ignoring the guess-work of a brilliant amateur. It has helped Butler's fame immensely that the progress of research has brought evolutionary doctrine in some particulars into harmony with his theories; but beyond doubt the same position would have been reached had Butler never lived. His own admission of the scanty sale of his books on evolution is a measure of the lack of any great influence wielded by them. In the history of science he will probably come to have a position side by side with that of Robert Chambers.

Brushing aside the crowd of unnecessary details one sees that some four or five persons affected Butler's life markedly. These were his father, his friend Miss Savage, a certain Charles Paine Pauli, Darwin, and Mr. Jones. The history of his relations with Canon Butler is sufficiently set forth in *The Way of All Flesh*. Certainly parental control went often to unwise extremes in Victorian England, but I doubt whether Butler suffered more than did a thousand other young men mercifully spared the at times unholy gift of self-expression. And it must be remembered that we have not, and probably can never have, Canon Butler's side of

the story. Much has been said in the reviews of Mr. Jones's book of the wit, charm and general delightfulness of Miss Savage's letters. "A new personality," one critic declares, "has been added to literature." Unfortunately much of the wit in her letters had already been transferred to Butler's own books; much of the remainder is infinitely tedious reading. Butler, as is well known, often declared that Wordsworth's Lucy and Moore's young woman who owned a gazelle were the two most disagreeable women in literature. I am tempted to add Miss Savage as a third. Keen, sharp-tongued, ever ready to poke fun, often in the worst of taste, at those who did not agree with her—she encouraged in Butler some of the traits by which he has become most generally known. Butler thought that she wanted to marry him. I am not sure that she held to any such silly notion for long. But in any case the return made for her affection and for her self-effacing interest in his writings was ungallant and ungentelemanly in the extreme; witness the two sonnets written years after her death and published by Mr. Jones. On the whole Miss Savage had the upper hand of Butler. He was even more under the influence of Pauli whose personality, never well defined by Mr. Jones, throws a dark shadow over the memoir. Butler, the ironist, the satirist, the destroyer of illusions, one of those, as he prided himself on being,

"whose wit can shake
And riddle to the very core
The counterfeits that Time will break,"

was himself, by an arch-irony, completely hoodwinked by a handsome, fascinating, unprincipled man whom he met in New Zealand and to whom he made an allowance of two hundred pounds a year until Pauli's death in 1897 revealed the fact that he had shamelessly sponged upon his benefactor. Beside this tragedy the controversy with Darwin seems an unimportant matter. Butler amply revenged himself upon Darwin and even upon his own father; but the wound left by Pauli's unfaithfulness was too deep to be cauterized by satire. He left behind him only a straightforward statement of his relations with Pauli, a statement that Mr. Jones does not publish in full. With regard to Darwin it seems that Butler, though highly incensed at a slight which was exaggerated by his keen sensitiveness, was in the right. It is unnecessary to recount the affair; but the conclusion that any impartial reader will reach

is that Butler, not knowing the accident whereby Darwin's acknowledgment of Krause's use of Butler's *Life and Habit* was cut out of his preface in the proof stage, was justified in believing that the slight was intentional. It remains a problem why Darwin, instead of following the advice of his own family, accepted Huxley's counsel that Butler should be ignored. Much bad feeling might otherwise have been obviated—and Mr. Jones's memoir might have been greatly reduced in bulk. As for Mr. Jones's own influence upon his friend, reading between the lines of the memoir one comes to suspect that it was his unquestioning adoration that led Butler, despite all his protestations to the contrary, to take himself with a seriousness which, had he observed it in some famous man whom he disliked—say, Darwin or Mendelssohn or Raphael,—would have brought down the shafts of his satire.

He will be remembered neither as scientist nor artist nor, certainly, as musician, nor as literary critic, nor necessarily (for tastes change) as novelist. As a wit, yes; but primarily, let it be repeated, as a satirist. Satire, "that bastard and wandering muse," has never yet kept firm hold upon humanity's esteem and love. When a book comes to need a commentary for its proper understanding it ceases to be numbered among those whose appeal is wide and whose influence is significant. Within a short time, as literary reputations go, *Erewhon* and *The Way of All Flesh* will stand almost as much in need of exegesis as do *Hudibras* and *The Tale of a Tub*. Satire was the cloak beneath which Butler hid the tragedy of his life. He protested that he did not wish to become famous, did not desire "lionizing." He protested that his had been a happy life. Happy, with such a childhood? With such constant suspicions of the people with whom he came in contact? With such broodings upon the neglect of his writings? With the ever-present sense of a conspiracy against him? With such readiness not only to uncloak hypocrisy but to find sham in what is genuine and honest? Happy! The tragedy of Samuel Butler is revealed in the cry that comes from him: "I do not deny that I have been ill-used. I have been used abominably."

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THE SOURCE OF A PASTORAL ECLOGUE ATTRIBUTED TO FRANCISCO DE FIGUEROA

A pastoral eclogue consisting of twenty-three *estancias*, ascribed to Francisco de Figueroa in a manuscript of the Real Biblioteca, was first published by Sedano in his *Parnaso español*.¹ The authority of a single manuscript, or even of several manuscripts, is not sufficient, without further evidence, to decide the authorship of Spanish poems of the sixteenth century, and besides, Sedano's inaccuracies are notorious.²

The poetical names of Tirsi, Damon, and Fili, which appear in this composition, occur so frequently in pastoral verses of the sixteenth century that they cannot settle definitely the question of authorship.

On a cliff overlooking the Tagus, the shepherd Tirsi laments the absence of his beloved Fili. Her indifference to his love leads him to yearn for death as a release from his anguish. She is ever present in his dreams, and his awaking brings only heart-breaking disillusion. Unable to bear any longer his grief, he stabs himself to the heart. His friend, Damon, who has heard his laments, tenderly weeps over the blood-stained body of Tirsi, reproaches him for having concealed his secret from him, prepares his body for burial, and writes an epitaph for his grave.

The first sixteen *estancias* seem to be original. The last seven *estancias*, which describe Tirsi's death and Damon's grief, are a graceful translation of the latter part of the second eclogue of Antonio Tebaldeo, a well-known Italian poet, whose verses were first published in the year 1499, and who died in 1537. Except for the fact that the names of the shepherds are reversed, the Spanish text follows closely the Italian original.

By a curious coincidence, it was this same second eclogue of Antonio Tebaldeo that served as the source of Juan del Encina's *Égloga de tres pastores*.³ A comparison of Encina's play with this

¹ Madrid, 1770, iv, 82. It is also included in Don Ramón Fernández's edition of the *Poesías de Francisco de Figueroa*, Madrid, 1785, pp. 31-37.

² This composition is attributed to Francisco de Figueroa in a manuscript described by Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, cols. 239-240. Señor Menéndez Pidal, in an article entitled *Observaciones sobre las poesías de Francisco de Figueroa*, published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, II (1915), 303, regards the question of authorship as unsettled.

³ J. P. W. Crawford, *The Spanish Pastoral Drama*, Philadelphia, 1915, pp. 34-40.

pastoral eclogue dealing in part with the same material offers an interesting illustration of the difference in the methods employed by the poets of the old and new school in Spain of the sixteenth century.

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ON THE *March of the Lion*

Through the courtesy of J. Paul de Castro, Esq., of London, I have at last secured a copy of the long missing *March of the Lion* to which I refer in my edition of Henry Fielding's *Covent-Garden Journal*, I, 59. It is the foulest pamphlet I have ever read, and I am therefore reluctant to rescue it from oblivion; but I do wish to put on record one or two facts that I have found interesting.

Among the numerous dainty paragraphs devoted to Fielding is one which refers to his "distant chattering teeth." Even his worst enemies did not deny Fielding the possession of a few teeth however distant, and one should not take too literally Smollett's and Hogarth's testimony (see my edition of the *Journal*, I, 4, n. 3.) concerning Fielding in the days of his decline.

Another interesting paragraph satirizes at length the Fool, the Author of the *Daily Gazetteer*. Politically Fielding and the Fool had long been enemies, and in 1752 the latter was still actively hostile. (See the *Journal*, No. 15, page 3, column 3). From the *March of the Lion* we learn that the Fool was a Scotchman, and from the *Pasquinade* (1753), page 21, line 195, *note*, we learn that he was "laborious Shiells . . . sometime ago Amanuensis to Mr. Johnson . . ." Sam Johnson's R. Shiels, one of the Scotchmen who helped compile the *Dictionary*! Of Shiel's predecessor and successor in the editorial chair I know nothing, nothing about his own career as a journalist; but I am gratified to discover that in 1752-3 the Fool was not, as I suspected, Tobias Smollett, but a less renowned fellow countryman.

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A REFERENCE TO "HUON" IN BEN JONSON

The first act of Ben Jonson's *Magnetic Lady* ends with a dialogue between Mr. Damplay and "a Boy of the House" in the course of which the Boy, speaking very probably for the author himself, attacks the absurdity of romantic plots, and proceeds to outline the following incidents as characteristic:

. . . So if a Child could be borne, in a *Play*, and grow up to a man, i' the first Scene, before he went off the Stage: and then after to come

forth a Squire, and bee made a Knight: and that Knight to travell between the Acts, and doe wonders i' the holy land or else where; kill Paynims wild Boores, dun Cowes, and other Monsters; beget him a reputation, and marry an Emperours Daughter: for his Mrs. Convert her Fathers Countrey; and at last come home, lame and all to be laden with miracles.

The killing of the "wild Boores, dun Cowes, and other Monsters" as Peck has pointed out in the *Yale Studies* is a reference to *Guy of Warwick*; ¹ but, neither he nor any earlier editor that I have consulted, ² notes the reference to *Huon of Bordeaux* implicit in the latter part of the speech.

For a knight to "beget him a reputation" may well apply to Huon's early exploits on the way to Babylon. There Huon wins the love of Esclarmonde, the daughter of the "Admiral," that is, the emperor. ³ He kills the Admiral, and slays all his subjects that will not become Christians, ⁴ and after many adventures, is duly married by the Pope. ⁵ At last, he returns to Bordeaux with four of the Admiral's black teeth and some hair taken from his beard—the trophies which Charlemagne had commanded him to bring—all magically hidden in the side of his faithful companion. Oberon, King of Fairyland, saves him miraculously from the evil plots of Gerard; ⁶ and thus the hero gloriously finishes his mission.

The romance was easily accessible to Ben Jonson. Lord Berners had translated it about 1522, and Wynkyn de Worde had printed his version about 1534. ⁷ Fletcher has shown that Spenser probably used it in *The Faerie Queene*; ⁸ and the popularity of such literature, especially among the commons of London, must have kept the story alive well down into the Seventeenth Century. Ben Jonson's ridicule of the romances is part of the same movement as *The Knight of The Burning Pestle* and Shelton's translation of *Don Quixote*, the rise of the critical spirit and the decline of the literature of adventure and imagination.

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¹ Peck, H. W., ed.: Ben Jonson's *Magnetic Lady* (*Yale Studies in English*), New York, 1914, 136.

² The editions of Whalley in 1756; of Gifford, in 1816; and of Cunningham in 1875.

³ *The Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeaux*, ed. Lee, London, 1882-87. O. E. T. S., Extra Series, 40, 41, 43, 50, Ch. xxxviii, p. 119 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. xlvi, p. 152.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Ch. lxii, p. 217.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Ch. lxxxiii, p. 258 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, title-page.

⁸ *Journ. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, II, 203 ff.

SOME INTERPRETATIONS OF MILTON

After a recent study of Milton's minor poems I find myself questioning the accepted interpretations of certain notable passages.

Ruskin's injunction (*Sesame and Lilies*), to watch every accent and expression, put ourselves always in the author's place, annihilate our own personality and seek to enter his, "so as to be able assuredly to say 'Thus Milton thought' not 'Thus I thought in mis-reading Milton'" is most apt and necessary. And yet I suspect that Ruskin violates his own rule in dealing with the very passage that seems to have induced its formulation, as well as elsewhere.

I believe he misses the mark in his treatment of the expression "Blind mouths" (*Lycidas* 110). "These two monosyllables," he says, "express the precisely accurate contraries of right character in the two great offices of the Church—those of bishop and pastor. A 'Bishop' means 'a person who sees.' A 'Pastor' means 'a person who feeds.' The most unbishoply character a man can have is therefore to be Blind. The most unpastoral is, instead of feeding, to want to be fed—to be a Mouth. Take the two reverses together, and you have 'blind mouths.'" According to this the designation *as a whole* does not apply to either bishop or pastor—to any one, to any class. We must divide the adjective from its noun, and, however awkward, apply them separately. Fortunately such a procedure is neither reasonable nor necessary.

It would be eminently like Milton to use an original of the phrase found in an ancient author and we have it precisely in the geographer Strabo, 183, who applies the term *τρυφλός-τομος* to the mouth of a river choked with mud or sand. If this be the origin of the phrase, the idea of greediness read into it by Ruskin and his successors must be abandoned. The notion of shallowness, of impeded utterance, of lack of spontaneity governs the meaning, which looks forward rather than backward in the passage for its relationship.

2. The second misinterpretation, as prevalent as the first, is of the lines in *Comus* (93, 94):

The star that bids the shepherd fold
Now the top of heaven doth hold.

All the editions to which I have access say, "the evening star," or more specifically "Venus," or "Hesperus." The patent objection is that the evening star (or planet) does not at folding time appear at "the top of heaven," a specification which cannot be so easily dismissed as many assume. Does not an exacter explanation fit this passage better? In May, the critical month for flocks, the constellation *Leo* is in the zenith shortly after sunset, while Aries

(is this significant?) is sinking in the west. As the lion, according to Homer (*Il.* x, 485, and often), is the great menace to flocks, the appearance of the constellation is a warning to shepherds. It is much more than the hand on a dial; it is a celestial reminder of a deadly peril to innocence that lurks in the darkness.

3. The third widely accepted error that I wish to notice is in line 53 *On the Death of a Fair Infant*. Recent editions print it thus:

Or wert thou [Mercy] that sweet smiling youth?

The bracketed word was "suggested in 1750 by John Heskin to fill the obvious lacuna." Masson says, "There can be no doubt that Mercy was meant." Notwithstanding this high authority I am not convinced. It is true that Mercy is throned between Justice and Truth in *The Hymn on the Nativity*, ll. 141-146, but here are three separate or alternate characters who need not all be the same as where they constitute one picture. "Smiling" is scarcely a fit epithet of Mercy, or the masculine "youth" a fit appositive. The infant's sex does not forbid a comparison to "young Hyacinth" (4th stanza).

Leaving negations, may I suggest that Milton had in mind the boy Ganymede, who on account of his beauty was snatched from earth by Jove's eagle to succeed Hebe (Youth) as the cup-bearer of the Olympians (*Hom. Il.* xx, 232), and whose name (*γάμος μέδομαι*) signifies Joy or Gladness? Such a reference would be exceedingly obvious, Miltonic, and in harmony with the mention of Aquilo, l. 8. The lacuna was probably not an accident but resulted either from the difficulty of finding an exact equivalent of Ganymede that would satisfy the metre and the ear, or from a purpose by the omission to emphasize the second alternative.

4. *Lycidas*, ll. 30, 31. *Oft till the star*, etc. Under the accepted interpretation "*any* star that so rose" will do. But Milton's known exactness is not satisfied with so easy an explanation that neglects the "westerling wheel" as a mark of identification. To conceive of any star, a mere point of light, as a wheel would strain imagination, especially when such a conception is unnecessary. The words, I think, point to Arcturus, the brightest star in the constellation Bootes, the Waggoner, driver of the Wain (*Ursa Major*) (*Homer, Il.*, xviii, 487-9, and Milton, *Eleg. Quinta*, 35, 36). In the latitude of London the Wain does not set, but on the margin of the sky the wheel farther from the pole, sweeping around westward, seems down a slope from the wheel nearer the pole. "Westerling," therefore, does not mean "passing to the west," as lexicographers instruct us, but *circling the west*. This way of marking time in the night is one of extreme Arcadian simplicity and coincides with that in *Il Penseroso*, l. 87.

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DANTE AND GUINIZELLI IN CHAUCER'S *Troilus*

And Troilus shal dwellen forth in pine,
 Til Lachesis his thred no lenger twine.
 (T. C., v, 6, 7.)

may be a reminiscence of

E quando Lachesis non ha più lino,
 Solvesi dalla carne.
 (Purg., xxv, 79; cf. also xxi, 25-7.)

Probable echoes of the *Purgatorio* have often been pointed out in *Troilus*.¹

At the beginning of Book III of the *Troilus* Venus is invoked (verse 5),

In gentil hertes ay redy to repaire.

This is almost word for word the opening line in the most celebrated poem by Dante's predecessor Guido Guinizelli, the fifth canzone, on the nature of love (*Scelta di Curiosità*, vol. 185),

Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore.

Chaucer may have been attracted to Guinizelli by the glorifying of him as Dante's "padre mio" in the *Purgatorio* (xxvi, 92, 97 ff.; xi, 97). The reminiscence is not certain. The idea and context are near those of Boccaccio in the *Filostrato* (iii, 74),

figliuola di Giove,
 Benigna donna d'ogni gentil core.

"Gentil herte," "cuer gentil," "gentil core" are a part of the regular fashionable vocabulary of love from the thirteenth century on.

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BRIEF MENTION

An Anglo-Saxon Reader, edited with notes and glossary. By Alfred J. Wyatt (Cambridge, University Press, 1919). An editor of a new Anglo-Saxon Reader is primarily concerned with the selection of his texts. Professor Wyatt reports serious effort in this matter, namely, "a review of the whole corpus of Anglo-Saxon literature with very distinct aims: to ascertain whether there was any suitable material that had not been drawn upon in earlier works of the same character; to attain to a greater variety of contents than was to be found in some of the books then [when

¹ Skeat, II, 468; *Anglia*, XIII, 184; *Mod. Philol.*, III, 367; xiv, 135-7; Miss Hammond, *Bibl. Manual*, 82-3; Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, I, 2, 3. Boccaccio's *Teseide* (x, 32) shows the frequent confusion of Lachesis with Atropos:

Tolgan gl'Iddii, Arcita, amico caro,
 Che Lachesis il fil poco tirato
 Ancora tronchi.

the selection was being made, 'the winter months of 1914-15'] in use; to exclude, so far as possible, everything that was not intrinsically interesting; and finally to represent as many sides as we [late Lieutenant Bernard Pitt was then a collaborator in the work] could of the life of our forefathers." It will now be asked, what new material has been selected, material that is not offered in the several Readers in use?

In making a comparison of this Reader with Sweet's (S and S²), with Bright's (B), and with Cook's (C), for the purpose of answering the question asked, it is to be kept in mind that minor details of variation and difference are due to Professor Wyatt's occasional reduction of a whole to merely a part, to his slight extensions or abbreviations of an approved selection, and his avoidance of repetition by a different selection from the same work. Allowance for these features reduces the answer sought to the statement that the new Reader does not offer much that is new. Thus, with C there is an extract from the *Apollonius of Tyre*; an extract from Ælfric's *Colloquy*; Alfred's Preface to the *Boethius*; "The Passing of Chad"; and a selection from the *Judith*.

In like manner there are agreements with S: an extract from the *Laws, Charters* (also S²), *Leechdoms, Gnostic Verses, Riddles, Judith* (also C), *Beowulf* (a short passage also in C), *The Later Genesis*, and *The Dream of the Rood*. From works not represented in the three Readers named, there are extracts from *Solomon and Saturn* (3½ pages); Gregory's *Dialogues* (4 pages); *The Benedictine Rule* (4 pages); the Preface to Alfred's *Blooms* (complete, 1½ pages); a section from the records of the *Chronicle* relating to the Danes (pp. 69-80), which is an extension backward from Sweet's section xvii; *Juliana* (1 page); *St. Guthlac* (2 pages); and the short poems *Deor, The Husband's Message*, and *Waldere* (together, 5 pages).

Looking now at the selections that make up a large portion of the book, one finds that this is less a supplementary Reader than a reproduction, with minor variations, of "earlier works of the same character." The first division, "Early West Saxon Prose," is begun with *Chron.* 755 and continued with entries relating to the wars of Alfred, and is therefore in essential agreement with S and B. In the second section, from the *Orosius*, a short passage entitled "Central Europe" precedes the "Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan" (S. B); and the section is closed with two passages, "Cyrus" and "Cleopatra." The third division consists of Alfred's Preface to the *Cura Pastoralis* (S. B), a chapter from that work, and Alfred's brief "Conclusion." The extracts from the *Bede* embrace, after a short "Preface," "The Conversion of Edwin" (B), with the disadvantage of the omission of two paragraphs at the beginning and one at the end. Then follow "The Passing of Chad" (noticed above), and *Caedmon* (S. B); and there is added "Bede's Conclusion" (1½ pages). Four pages

from the *Boethius* make up another section. Wulfstan is represented by the *Sermo Lupi*, which in fuller form is S xvi. Finally, as to the prose pieces, there is given *The Harrowing of Hell*, in close agreement with B, but shortened, with disadvantage, by the omission of B 130, 16—131, 12. The pieces in verse that remain to be mentioned contribute further to the points of resemblance and the parts of identity which keep this book in such close relation with the books it has been planned to supplement, according to the "distinct aims" of the editor. In the last division of the book one again finds *The Wanderer*, *The Battle of Brunnanburh*, *The Battle of Maldon*; and a short passage from *The Phoenix*.

Professor Wyatt very properly indulges in "no silent alterations of the readings of the mss.," but asks for indulgence in "the solitary exception" of printing, "for convenience," always *ond*, "whether the mss. have *ond* or *and*." This is obviously a procedure that is not to be approved. He also states that he has not marked the distinction between "accented" and "unaccented" *ne*. The real point, which is ignored, is the difference in meaning between 'not' and 'nor.' Special attention is, somewhat apologetically, called to the "innovation" of printing as one word certain analytic sequences, such as *ðā ðā*; *ðæs ðe*; *þærtō ēacen*; *mid þi þe*; *swā swā*; *swā þeah*; *swā hwæt swā*; *swā some swā*; *nā þæt ān þæt*, etc., etc. The innovation consists in carrying this practice beyond the restrained limits observed by those editors who have shown some favor to this mistaken view of calligraphy, to say nothing of its grammatical inappropriateness. Professor Wyatt is too keen a grammarian not to perceive that his excess in this matter demands an apology, and here it is: "It is true that *āðeroððe* or *nalæs-ðætānðæt* is not a joy forever"; but this is a feeble excuse for the obscuration, especially for the beginner, of the laws of sentence-accentuation. He knows 'aswellas' any one how analytic the language was in these matters, and how few forms of the type of 'inasmuch as' and 'insofar as' have in the course of centuries been admitted to the association of *whatsoever*, *nevertheless*, etc.

The preceding observation leads one to notice that the entries in the Glossary are not analyzed in the usual and helpful way. The use of the hyphen to show the composition of the words is a device too instructive to be abandoned. Nor has the editor concerned himself with devices to indicate the derivative formation, or the etymology and cognate relationship of words. These negations constitute a deterrent blank in a Glossary. Moreover, in the Glossary the special regimen of verbs is not indicated except in some instances. This creates a demand for more in the way of syntactical notes than is given. And an occasional note on syntax is not well pointed. Thus *þe . . . him* (*þe ic him*) is brought into connection with Abbott's construction of a passage in *Hen. V* (*Shakespearean Grammar* § 248). More directly to the point would be the observation that the relative particle *þe* (and some-

times *þæt*, which later becomes common) precedes the personal pronoun to make it relative, as *þe hit* = 'which' in *Maldon* 190 (Wyatt, p. 281). With the collocation under discussion compare, for example, *Elene* 162, *þe þis his* = 'whose this,' as correctly noted by Professor Cook. The subject is well set forth in *The English Relative Pronouns, A Critical Essay*, by Ernst Albin Kock (Lund, 1897). The idiom has proved fruitful of surprising contortions in popular parlance, as Professor Wyatt indicates; but it is doubly surprising that the idiom is still overheard also in America. The late Professor A. E. Egge (State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash.) reported to me privately a number of instances he had heard and literally recorded. They are of this character: "The woman who lately died *that* they contested *her* will"; "There are two members of the senior class *that their* essays have not been submitted"; "There was a woman at the meeting *that her* husband would not come."

In another note on the *Wanderer* (l. 81), Professor Wyatt has ignored the 'suggestion' offered in *MLN.* XIII, 176 f., and introduces an interpretation that is too fanciful and contradictory to the spirit of the poem for serious consideration. He holds it probable that *fugel* refers to "some mythical bird," supporting his conjecture in this manner: "Craigie points out that there is an example of a bird carrying off a man on one of the Celtic stones at Meigle in E. Perthshire." In connection with the note on xvi, 35, Professor Edgerton's discussion of the dvandva compounds would have proved helpful to the editor (see *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, N. F. 43).

The bibliographical summaries in the Notes are usually all that is required, but the interest in a piece is not always well imparted. Thus, for example, the names of Zangemeister and Braune are suppressed in connection with *The Later Genesis*. J. W. B.

The English Poets, edited by Thomas Humphry Ward (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1918), volume five, is a book that links our generation with the time nearly forty years ago when the original work in four volumes appeared. To the fourth volume an appendix was added in 1894, containing selections from Tennyson, Browning, and Arnold. For no very apparent reason that additional material has now been transferred to the beginning of this new volume and takes up precious space that might have been devoted to critical estimates and examples of the work of several poets, all dead since the original work was issued, who, though not in any sense great, have left behind them poems that are worthy of place in this standard and delightful anthology. Robert Buchanan, for the *Ballad of Judas Iscariot*; "Fiona Macleod" for such things as *An Old Tale of Three* and *The Burden of the Tide*; Watts-Dunton for the sonnets in memory of Jowett; John

Payne for the perhaps-flashy but unforgettable *Rime of Redemption* and *Lautrec*; and Lee-Hamilton (the most unaccountable omission) for many of his sonnets. The group of contributors whom Mr. Ward gathered around him in the eighties set a standard of prestige and ability difficult to match; but the editor has been remarkably happy in his selection of new associates. In many cases the man qualified pre-eminently to speak of a certain poet has been chosen: Colvin writes on Stevenson, Gosse on Swinburne, Hardy on William Barnes, Mackail on Morris. Among the most noteworthy essays are those by Mr. Drinkwater introducing various minor writers; in these studies there is a strong grasp of the fundamental laws of poetry and an ability to make use of these lesser but in some ways excellent poets to illustrate by their shortcomings those qualities that make for failure in the art, and by their occasional successes the qualities of precision of outline, of exactness of transcription, of ability to express a well-defined idea in clear and vivid words, that are of the stuff of which great verse is made. Another very satisfying study is that of George Meredith by Mr. John Bailey, in which recognition of the mass of impedimenta that encumbers Meredith's poetical work does not hinder well-reasoned praise of his great tho not ever-present merits. The section devoted to Humorous Verse is treated by Mr. C. L. Graves, who supplies individual introductions to each writer and also a little introduction to the whole section that is a model of compactness and good taste. Canon Beeching's study of R. W. Dixon is inadequate and unsympathetic; an essay upon Dixon with no mention of *Mano* will not do. Even more unsatisfactory is the meagre notice of Francis Thompson by the general editor. Mr. Aldous Huxley deals admirably with Dowson and Middleton, but fails to get to the heart of Davidson's claim to remembrance among the more considerable poets of recent years. Concerning taste it is sometimes useful to dispute; and the taste involved in the selection of parts of this anthology is certainly disputable. The examples from Meredith are particularly meagre and not all of his very best; among De Tabley's poems we do not find the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, or *Napoleon the Great*, or the great *Ode* which begins "Sire of the rising day." The Henley selection, too, is curious; the *Song of the Sword* is not there, nor "Some starlit garden grey with dew," nor "Where forlorn sunsets flare and fade." And what shall be said of a selection from Thompson that includes neither *To the Dead Cardinal* nor *In No Strange Land*? What of representing Davidson by but two poems while Stephen Phillips has eight, Lang nine, and Stevenson actually twenty-six? But such errors in proportion are bound to occur in a work done in collaboration by a large number of men; they do not seriously interfere with the merits of a volume that is already, because of its relation to those which preceded it, a classic in its way.

S. C. C.

Gertrud Wacker, *Über das Verhältnis von Dialekt und Schriftsprache im Altfranzösischen, Beiträge zur Gesch. der Rom. Spr. u. Lit.*, XI, 1916. The means for determining the dialect of Old French texts are few and uncertain. That many of them must be used with even greater caution than has been customary in the past is apparent from this study by Gertrud Wacker. The orthodox method of procedure in editing an Old French text has been to collect all the examples of unusual forms essential to its structure, track each to the district with which it seems to be most often identified, and then assign the text under consideration to some hypothetical region adjoining as many of these districts as possible. That such border lands, especially the frontier between the Ile de France and Picardy, have somehow been disconcertingly fertile in the production of poets was pointed out by Morf in Herrig's *Archiv*, CXXXII, pp. 256 ff. Miss Wacker, by questioning the validity of many of the criteria used in localizing Old French texts, succeeds in undermining the reputation of these mythical marches.

Taking some fifty-two works whose origins can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy, she tabulates the examples in each of them of certain forms generally held to be criteria for judging the dialect of Old French texts, and at the same time she states in every case the number of examples of the opposite phenomenon (i. e. of the normal form) found in the text considered. She shows, for instance, that various phenomena of Picard origin—*iee>ie*, the pronouns *mi*, *ti*, *vo*, *no*, such forms of the infinitive as *veïr*, *seïr*, and the rimes *ance* : *anche*, *esse* : *esche*, etc.—not only are absent from texts reliably classed as Picard, but are present in works known to have emanated from other districts. On the other hand, it is apparent from her table that altho a confusion of the rimes in *ē* and *ā* is characteristic of Ile de France writers, poets definitely assigned to Picardy also confuse them. She concludes that, while various dialects were developing in different parts of France, typical forms of some of them made their way, for political and literary reasons, into the written language of the time, and that this written language, which existed in France from the first half of the twelfth century, in its beginnings possessed many so-called Norman characteristics to which during its second period, dating from the thirteenth century, a number of Picard traits were gradually added. She contends therefore that the presence or absence of certain dialectal peculiarities in the language of a given writer can furnish no reliable data for determining the provenance of that writer.

The study is clearly written, its materials are logically presented, and its conclusions constitute a significant contribution to a problem that has long puzzled students of Old French texts. G. F.